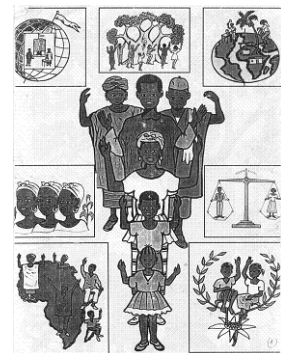


Human Rights Education

**Does human rights education lead to mobilization of
women in rural Senegal?**



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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment
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Tusen takk Borghild!

Oslo, February 2004

Morten Tønnessen-Krokan

'In the beginning it was something that was strange for us. But as we moved on with the classes, we realized that this was something that was helpful. It was really something that startled us, something that was really new.'

'Human rights are just commonsense.'

Two Senegalese women participating in human rights education

1. INTRODUCTION

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Does human rights education lead to mobilization of women in rural Senegal?

To answer this question, the research undertaken seeks to measure¹ *changes*

- *in women's activity space*
- *in women's relations towards their husbands, relatives and society*
- *in women's outlook*

as a result of human rights education (HRE) in the village of Tene Toubab in western Senegal.

Mobilization is operationalized and understood as *changes* in these three dimensions.

HRE is operationalized by the human rights knowledge as a result of the HRE.

HRE is here understood as teaching human rights based on the content of international human rights documents formulated in the context of the UN. This practice is exemplified by the HRE conducted by the non-governmental organization (NGO) Tostan.

¹ 'Measure' is not regarded here in a positivist sense. As the study discusses changes as a result of one specific event, 'measure' should be an adequate term.

BACKGROUND

The decade 1995-2004, is declared by the UN General Assembly to be the United Nations Decade for Human Rights Education (United Nations 2002). Regarding the impact of HRE, resolution 55/94 states that:

‘Convinced that every woman, man and child, in order to realize their full human potential, must be made aware of all their human rights and fundamental freedoms’.
(2002:632)

‘Convinced that human rights education and information contribute to a holistic concept of development consistent with the dignity of women and men of all ages.’
(2002:633)

Regarding practicing HRE the resolution states:

‘Recognizing the invaluable and creative role that non-governmental and community-based organizations can play in disseminating public information and engaging in human rights education, especially at the grass-roots level and in remote and rural communities.’
(2002:633)

HRE is thus believed by the UN General Assembly, among others, to play a crucial role regarding development and women's life-situation, and that NGO's may play an invaluable role engaging in HRE.

Tostan - the human rights education

One of the things that attracted my interest in undertaking this study, was claims that Tostan's activities have contributed to a mental paradigm-shift in villages where the organization has conducted its program. It is said that this is to a large extent due to the HRE (interview).

The six-module adult teaching program of Tostan began in 1988, and has since then reached hundreds of villages across Senegal (UNICEF 1995). Developing the program, Tostan trainers visited literacy classes in rural areas. It became clear that literacy training may have its limitations. One woman they met with in a literacy class gave her version:

‘Well, you know, we spent a couple of months studying the difference between the short ‘a’ and the long ‘a’. Meanwhile, one in every four children under 5 was dying in rural Senegal’ (UNICEF 1995).

The HRE is conducted during a two-month period. The facilitator uses nineteen flip-charts each illustrating a human right². A facilitator involves the students asking what they think when they see the different drawings. The presentation of each right following a class discussion lasts one hour. Tostan conducted its eighteen-month program in Tene Toubab in 1997-1998.

The program conducted in Tene Toubab is a six-module program for women consisting of; i) problem solving; ii) hygiene activities; iii) oral re-hydration, therapy and vaccinations; iv) financial and material management; v) management of human resources; vi) feasibility study and income generating projects (UNICEF 1995).

The program begins with the HRE, which is then integrated during an eighteen-month program. Tostan stresses to link and integrate human rights knowledge to people’s everyday practices, challenges and demands. One way of doing this, is to attempt to facilitate practicing the human rights knowledge through the set-up of two projects; a health-centre and a micro-credit program (interview).

The founder and current leader of the organization, Molly Melching claims that:

‘Human rights education underpins all further education and development. It is the foundation of a holistic development. Human rights education underpins the basis for the whole educational program of Tostan’ (interview).

The HRE conducted by Tostan has during the last couple of years changed and now includes men in the program.

² Some of the flip-charts Tostan is using are displayed in the analysis part. All the nineteen flip-charts are shown in the appendices V.

Colonial heritage

With the abolishment of slave-trade in the first half of the 19th century, the colonial power France was looking for alternative income-sources. One of these new income-sources was generated by developing groundnut production in Senegal³. However, the dependency of the groundnut monoculture has made people in the area studied vulnerable to political, economic and climate changes.

Religion

Islam is the religion of 92% of the Senegalese population, including the villages studied⁴. Practices embedded in Islamic conceptions are not always compatible with women's human rights (Svensson 2000). The relationship between men and women is particularly relevant here.

'Human rights'

How the expression 'human rights' is perceived is not always clear when it appears in texts or conversations. In addition to a conceptual confusion, the expression 'human rights' has an emotive charge. This also became clear during discussions with the respondents of this inquiry. I refer to the content of international human rights documents formulated in the context of the UN, when in the following I use 'human rights' without further specification and outside the context of providing an account of any particular individual's view. It should be noted that the identification of 'human rights' with the content of international schemes, is not meant as a statement on the validity of the latter in any absolute sense.

³ The Official Home Page of the Republic of Sénégal. <http://www.earth2000.com/da/info.html>. Downloaded February 2004.

⁴ The Official Home Page of the Republic of Sénégal. <http://www.earth2000.com/da/info.html>. Downloaded February 2004.

ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS

The thesis is organized as follows. A Freirean approach serves as the theoretical point of departure as it critically examines educational practices. The theoretical framework is further elaborated by attempting to bring in concepts that may view the Freirean approach in a broader perspective. The theory chapter is then followed by the chapter on methods.

The main objective of the analysis is to examine whether mobilization has taken place as a result of the HRE, both on different areas and of different character. It should be noted here that before moving on with the second part of the analysis, a three minute DVD animation film shall be seen (enclosed). One of the main challenges of the study has been to single out the HRE from other elements of influence on mobilization. This is dealt with in the second part of the analysis. The final part discusses the concept of human rights in relation to two other ‘conceptions’ in order to examine its ‘contextual position’.

2. THEORY

'To exist, humanly, is to *name* the world, to change it.'

- Paulo Freire, Brazilian educator

RESEARCH PERSPECTIVE

In this thesis, it is assumed that women in rural Senegal face obstacles in their activity space, in relations with other people and outlook. Further, it is assumed that HRE may facilitate meeting these obstacles through mobilization. The aim of this chapter is to account for the theoretical framework chosen underpinning the thesis.

As the objective is to see whether HRE leads to mobilization of women, the theoretical point of departure is Paulo Freire's critical pedagogy, focusing on adult teaching. This approach is chosen as it critically views the role of educational practices both in producing and resolving unequal power relations.

Lather views critical pedagogy as

‘...positioned as that which attends to practices of teaching/learning intended to interrupt particular historical, situated systems of oppression. Such pedagogies go by many names: Freirean, feminist, anti-racist, radical empowering, liberating theology. With both overlaps and specificities within and between, each is constructed out of a combination of Frankfurt School critical theory, Gramscian counter-hegemonic practice and Freirean conscientization’ (1992:121-122).

The Frankfurt school critical theory is referred to by Gregory as

‘[a] European tradition of social and political thought, which is centrally concerned with the historicity of social action’ (2000:129).

Luke claims that:

‘Taken together, Frankfurt School negative critique, Gramscian counter-hegemonic practice, and Freirean conscientization thus provide a powerful agenda for emancipatory education’ (1992:28).

The Freirean point of departure is further elaborated by the concept of social capital, hegemony theory, articulation and communication theory.

Education is here seen as a communicative practice embedded in a socio-historical context. Communication is seen as the generation of meaning. Further, the generation of meaning is seen as 'located in a discourse and read in a context' (Storey 2001:73). Meaning is not fixed or contained in a text, a play, a picture, a speech or in a classroom. What generates meaning is a blend of non-original quotes stemming from innumerable works. The generation of meaning is a temporary event as a 'reader' puts her or his frames of references to what is being read (Storey 2001).

This way of seeing communication and the generation of meaning is seen in a post-structural perspective rejecting the idea that meaning rests upon an underlying structure existing apart from human beings.

Scientific theory

The ontology of this thesis is that reality exists both outside human beings and is constructed through our relation to it. Knowledge in this view is both uncovered and constructed (Thagaard 1998). However, 'uncovering' or producing, knowledge is influenced by the context in which it is produced.

Seen in a post-structuralist view, knowledge does not neutrally reflect reality. The claim to universal knowledge and theories are practices in constructing one truth. These practices are socio-historically as well as politically embedded and thus bear the potential, as other human practices, of executing power. The post-structuralist approach rejects the notion of tracing anything existing outside cultural systems. Thus, post-structuralism rejects theories of closed systems and determinacy, but rather investigates the flux of human practices (Storey 2001). McLaren points out that:

'Although [Freire's] corpus of writing does not easily fall under the rubric of post-structuralism, his emphasis on the relationship among language, experience, power, and identity certainly give weight to certain post-structuralist assumptions' (2001:114).

Educational practices come from somewhere, and are constructed and executed by someone.

The banking concept of education

The Western Enlightenment project rested upon the idea that all human beings should have access to knowledge in order to determine the future of oneself and the society being liberated from oppressive kings and religious leaders. Knowledge was seen as society's lubricant and it was the duty of every scholar to make sure it was spread to everybody. Since knowledge to a high degree was considered universal, neutral and value-free, existing apart from human beings (science's task was to dissect and reveal it by the use of scientific methods), it was seen as important to spread the word.

The problem with this way of seeing knowledge and education is the rejection, or lack of social, historical and political self-reflection. Knowledge and education is constructed in a socio-historical context, and play an active role in the making of world-views. In this sense, this way of seeing knowledge may well have been used as a means to exercise control by a governing elite.

PAULO FREIRE

Freire's ultimate concern was humanization through dialogue. Only through true dialogue where people learn from one another, without constructing straight-jacket categories of the other, it is possible to understand each other better and finally love each other. Freire claims that social relations are always characterized by power in one way or another, and that unequal power relations may lead to execution of power and oppression. True dialogue requires the relationship being free of power relations, and that the dialogue is characterized by mutual trust and openness and compassion (Berkaak 2003).

Freire (1995) criticizes the conception of education as depositing knowledge from an active teacher to a passive student, what he terms 'the banking concept of education'. Freire believes that the power-relation between student-teacher is a model and pre-condition for all power-execution in society. His first and most important aim in his program is therefore to attack and change the learning-process (Berkaak 2003).

Knowledge may in this perspective be said to be viewed like a package that needs to fill the student's record. The 'neutral' characteristics of what is being sent are assumed to be autonomous reaching the receiver's end uncontaminated and unchanged. Education is thus an act of depositing meaning and intention.

'Instead of communicating, the teacher issues communiqués'
(Freire 1995:53).

The student is supposed to conform, not transform, to the world, making the student a passive object outside history and society. The student has a consciousness which this knowledge will penetrate, but the student is not conscious. The surrounding world is not accessible for the student/this consciousness to recognize. To be aware of the surroundings is not the same as the surroundings being part of one. The teacher - student relationship tends to subordinate the student's knowledge to the teacher's, measuring the student's knowledge as the ability to re-present the teacher's monologue. Thus, students not only learn the formal curriculum, they learn how to recite the words of the teacher, without bringing her or his own story or perceptions into the curriculum (Freire 1995).

This is what Illich (1973) calls the hidden curriculum. Students learn how to learn in a passive relationship with the teacher. They are passive consumers of the active teacher's words - a hierarchical organization of the learning process, in which they have to conform.

Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) focused on cultural reproduction discussing the role of education in society. They argue that schools maintain and reinforce existing social stratification and inequalities. As a result of the hidden curriculum, values, attitudes and behaviours are learned. The articulation of different perspectives by the teachers are absorbed at a young age, and condition the children's outlook and opportunities later in life.

According to Freire, oppressive structures in society are expressed and maintained through educational systems with inherent, unequal power relations and interests, which play a crucial role as well as a political role in society. The world outlook represented in schools is not an objective truth expressed in a way or in a language that belongs to everybody. Not only do the oppressed learn how to express their stories, with their own language, but also the oppressor's stories with the oppressor's

language.

‘Human existence cannot be silent, nor can it be nourished by false words, but only by true words, with which men and women transform the world. To exist, humanly, is to *name* the world, to change it. Once named, the world in its turn reappears to the namers as a problem and requires of them a new *naming*. Human beings are not built in silence, but in word, in work, in action-reflection.

But while to say the true word - which is work, which is praxis - is to transform the world, saying that word is not the privilege of some few persons, but the right of everyone. Consequently, no one can say a true word alone - nor can she say it *for* another, in a prescriptive act which robs others of their words’ (Freire 1995:69).

The subject wins back the right to name the world. Men and women discover that they are creators of culture.

Culture of silence

Freire claims that traditional educational systems imposes a very limited naming of the world onto its students, in a language and discourse that is not their own. This leads to what Freire calls a culture of silence. The limit-situations that occurs when what we know comes short in dealing with the situation we become conscious about our own limitations. When the surroundings are no longer manageable or seem obvious we are alienated from these surroundings.

Knowledge is always about something and is thus in relation to this. If action is not guided by any thought or motivated by an idea, it is in Freire’s view not really an act, only arbitrary and meaningless behaviour, what he calls activism. True knowledge is correspondence between the reality surrounding us and our views and perceptions about it. How the world is actually perceived has to harmonize with how it is presented in the cultural repertoire (Freire 1974).

Discussing this problem with a Senegalese educator, he pointed to the French school system in Senegal re-presenting a French reality quite different from a Senegalese (interview).

If the correspondence between the re-presentation and perception is poor, it makes people lost, and vulnerable to oppression. The sensed world will have to be recognized in the symbolic or re-presented world. Lack of correspondence may

alienate people. The individual does not recognize the world, and thus limits its ability for manoeuvre. True and authentic knowledge is knowledge that corresponds with the individual's surroundings (Freire 1995).

Freire (1995) says that switching roles between the oppressors and the oppressed will not solve the problem. It is the very structure that has to be resolved.

‘The very structure of their [the oppressed] thought has been conditioned by the contradictions of the concrete, existential situation by which they were shaped. Their ideal is to be men; but for them, to be men is to be oppressors. This is their model of humanity’ (Freire 1995:27).

To resolve the oppressor-oppressed relationship, Freire advocates pedagogy of the oppressed as the following:

‘The important thing, from the point of view of libertarian education, is for the people to come to feel like masters of their thinking by discussing the thinking and views of the world explicitly or implicitly manifest in their own suggestions and those of their comrades. Because this view of education starts with the conviction that it cannot present its own program but must search for this program dialogically with the people, it serves to introduce the pedagogy of the oppressed, in the elaboration of which the oppressed must participate’ (Freire 1995:105).

Freire claimed that education should not be to give people knowledge, but to give people tools to acquire knowledge, so that they (from their own context) will be able to view the forces and conditions that facilitates and limits their life-realization. In his view, knowledge itself that does not lead to action and power in order to change these conditions is thus worthless. This makes education contribute to developing strategies of resistance, which in turn makes education and teaching a political act.

In true dialogue, our own standpoints are continuously challenged. The aim is not to argue in order to win, but to get closer to the one you are talking with and to understand our surroundings. True dialogue requires that the relationship is free from power relations, and that the dialogue is characterized by mutual trust, openness and compassion. We have to dare letting the other influence us, but in a conscious and chosen way. Rather than wishing to influence the other, one should appreciate her or his view contribution to ones own life.

Facilitator

Freire states that a facilitator has the role of giving birth to the process of conscientization. A facilitator's task is not the same as the teacher giving a speech to the students. The facilitator's task is to teach the students critical reflection of society. Through the process of conscientization, 'critical reading of commonsense reality' (McLaren 2001:115), people are liberated from the oppressor-oppressed relationship, as they recognize social, political and economic contradictions becoming able to take action against oppressive elements and hegemonic structures.

‘People being tied to [...] the oppressor [...] will have to start discovering that they are persons being restrained from existing. Discovering themselves means that they first and foremost view themselves as Pedro, Antonio or Josefa. This discovery requires another experience of the meaning of terms: The words 'existence', 'human beings', 'culture', 'tree', 'work', 'animal' get back its true meaning’ (Freire 2003:154-155).

Fear of freedom

However, the oppressed are split; they have made the consciousness of the oppressor their own. To the degree the oppressed believes that oppression is inescapable, the oppressed is his or her own oppressor. In order to engage in liberating education, the oppressed have to be aware that the oppressor is part of them. But the oppressed resists as this gives her or him freedom, and this freedom is unknown and requires the oppressed to take responsibility for her or his actions and choices. This makes the oppressed resist and fear the freedom because the world as they know it is safe and predictable, though limiting.

Freire stressed historicity and temporality, and that each epoch has its own perspective of understanding struggling and negotiating the present agenda. Freire claimed the flux and continuum of events and history, and that we are all in the process of becoming, and not reaching a final destination. Society moves and shifts from one imperfect condition to another.

I will now turn to some of the critique of Freire.

Critique of Freire

Freire's critical pedagogy and his view on education through dialogue is an important contribution, rejecting the reification of knowledge emphasizing the problem of the active-passive relationship between teacher and student seeing the student as a subject playing an active role in developing and forming knowledge and pedagogy. His emphasis on educational practices as connected to the workings of power relations in society and emphasis on power relations in education may also encourage sensitivity of the context of educational practices. This may contribute seeing education as a political act playing a crucial role in the development of society. These points may suggest a critical reflection of educational practices. Freire has also prescribed a way of breaking these oppressive structures.

Freire was, as he also stressed himself, a product of his time. One of the epistemes of his time was the assumption that the 'people' was one entity with one interest being identifiable. His liberating vision may overlook internal conflicts of interest among the 'people'. It may be argued that Freire talks about 'humanity' and 'we' and 'people' as being one unity apparently with same interests. Freire interprets and defines both the oppressors and the oppressed. By so doing it may be claimed that he places himself outside the context in question, and thus loses his contextual focus claiming a kind of an un-positional position.

It may also be argued that Freire underestimates people's capacity to resist. Individuals and groups of individuals may develop their own language and stories. Responding to this critique, Richards (2001) argues that Freire does not regard individuals and groups to be agentless beings invariably trapped in and immobilized by language effects. Rather, human beings are politically accountable for their language practices, and as such agency is considered inherent.

He also issues a suggestion of critical reading, teaching people how to 'read' society for people to choose their own direction. Ellsworth comments on this:

'The concept of critical pedagogy assumes a commitment on the part of the Professor/teacher toward ending the student's oppression. Yet the literature offers no sustained attempt to problematize this stance and confront the likelihood that the Professor brings to social movements

(including critical pedagogy) interests of her of his own race, class, ethnicity, gender and other positions' (1992:101).

Thus, teaching a critical reading of society is a contextual practice. The facilitator cannot claim an un-positional position.

It may be argued that Freire somehow places and defines the oppressed having a crucial historical position in liberating both the oppressed and the oppressors, on behalf of Freire's own interpretation.

Discriminating certain groups designating them a particular role is to claim as Harding (1993) when stating that women play a crucial role in liberating both themselves and the oppressors, since the oppressors only know their own situation, whereas the oppressed know both their and the oppressors situation, giving the oppressed a distinct insight in the oppressor-oppressed relationship. The oppressed possess a knowledge that the oppressors do not. This way, the experience of the marginalized is privileged and is related to position, not person. Haraway (1991) disagrees with such a view and states that knowledge is situated and partial, and that no one can claim a more 'true' knowledge than others. Situating oneself and one's knowledge is necessary, because all knowledge is conditioned by a historical and cultural context. Though Freire did emphasize sensitivity to context and historicity, it may be argued that the oppressor - oppressed scheme is too simplistic. The point here is to be critical to teaching critical reading and reflection, the assumptions of those conducting it and its context.

Shukla (1998) criticizes a Freirean approach for not questioning issues related to development. Its main concern is the relationship between oppressors and oppressed.

Despite this critique, Freire's reflection on the relationship between the oppressor and the oppressed and a critical approach to educational practices makes a relevant point of departure investigating the relation between HRE and mobilization. The following sections will elaborate on the Freirean framework through the concept of social capital, hegemony theory, articulation and communication theory.

SOCIAL CAPITAL

According to Coleman, social capital is

‘...created when relations among persons change in ways that facilitate action. Physical capital is wholly tangible, being embodied in the observable material form; human capital is less tangible, being embodied in the skills and knowledge acquired by an individual; social capital is less tangible, for it is embodied in the *relations* among persons. [...] Social organization constitutes social capital’ (1990:304).

Naming relations and changes in relations among people may contribute to awareness of this feature of social organization. Applying features of ‘capital’ to social organization also suggests the potential of acquiring, developing, managing and making social capital ‘grow’. The idea may enable people that are not formally organized to see themselves as part of an organizational structure which may in turn make people or groups of people aware of this as a resource that can be developed, managed and used in reaching the goals of individuals and groups of individuals. The outcome of a ‘successful’ pedagogy of the oppressed may thus be termed ‘social capital’.

Critique of social capital

One problem of the concept is the apparent assumption that somebody may be able to evaluate and make claims of the ‘amount’, ‘quality’ and ‘location’ of social capital, as well as strategies of improving and managing it in a given place.

Another problem is that changes in relations may facilitate action at the cost of others. Thus, it has to say something about what relations, for what actions and what goals. Are these goals generally agreed upon? The term seems to assume a pluralist ideology of society without inherent power-relations. Harriss (2001) criticises the way social capital tends to emphasize internal organization ignoring external structures. He reminds that it is quite possible that local associations may be dominated by and used to promote the interests of more powerful people and groups of people. At the same time, ‘possessing’ social capital may not be a sufficient condition to turn it into any

advantages due to contextual restraints. Harriss also raises the question whether social capital among groups and organizations may lead to social exclusion for others. A response to this critique, he notes, is expressed by looking at 'linking capital' or of ties between people from 'weak' and 'strong' positions in society. This suggestion is rejected as 'an extraordinary expression of the weakness of reasoning that takes no real account of the context of power and class relations' (Harriss 2001:11).

Nepotism may serve as an example of how this 'linking capital' perpetuates unequal power-relations. Educational practices oppressive people in the Freirean scheme may also illustrate how such 'linking capital' may ignore power-relations. Harriss claims that existing power structures are simply taken as given in the concept leaving out the possibility that poorer people might bring changes in the distribution of power and resources through political organization, struggle and resistance.

This critique does not, however necessarily exclude the possibility to appreciate contextual sensitivity.

THE STRUGGLE FOR MEANING - HEGEMONIC AND ARTICULATED

Seeing communication as the generation of meaning makes communication subject to negotiations, unequal power relations, and the workings of hegemony.

Slack views hegemony as

'[T]he class that achieves dominance is the class that is able to articulate non-class contradictions into its own discourse and thereby absorb the contents of the discourse of dominated classes' (1996:119).

Gramsci uses the concept of hegemony to refer to a condition in process in which a dominant class, together with other classes or class fractions, not as much ruling a society as leading it through the exercise of moral and intellectual leadership. In this sense, the concept is used to suggest a society in which, despite oppression and exploitation, there is a high degree of consensus and social stability. The concept of hegemony thus denotes a society in which subordinate groups and classes appear to actively support and subscribe to values, ideals, objectives, cultural and political

meanings, which bind them to prevailing structures of power (Storey 2001).

Storey claims that

‘...hegemony theory allows us to think of [...] culture as a 'negotiated' mix of intentions and counter-intentions; both from 'above' and from 'below', both 'commercial' and 'authentic'; a shifting balance of forces between resistance and incorporation. This can be analysed in many different configurations such as class, gender, generation, ethnicity, 'race', region, religion, sexuality, etc.’ (2001:106-107).

Meaning is produced in a social context. By applying meaning to our being and surroundings, the world is constructed. Therefore, as Storey puts it, ‘because different meanings can be ascribed to the same cultural text of practice, meaning is always the site and the result of struggle’ (Storey 2001:107).

Ley also reminds that

‘...the penetration of dominant values into the ‘whole social process’ does not mean that its terms are not negotiated, nor indeed resisted’ (2000:333).

Articulation

Articulation is here seen as a two-sided term meaning both linking and speaking. Analysing relations between people and groups of people I will attempt to see these as articulations, in addition to social capital. According to Hall, articulation is

‘...the form of the connection that can make a unity of two different elements, under certain conditions. [...] The ‘unity’ which matters is a linkage between the articulated discourse and the social forces with which it can, under certain historical conditions, but need not necessarily, be connected’ (1986:53).

Being something human agents engage in articulating the articulated is done in different ways and for different purposes. This is what Volosinov (1973) calls a ‘multi-accentual’ act. Speaking or expressing often involves some kind of linking in one way or another. This makes it a dynamic term, since speaking and linking often

are in a duality-relationship to one another.

According to Slack, articulation may signify

‘...the elements of a social formation and the relations that constitute it not simply as relations of correspondence [...] but also as relations of non-correspondence and contradiction, and how these relations constitute unities that instantiate relations of dominance and subordination’ (1996:117).

A Gramscian understanding of hegemony, is the struggle to construct (articulate and re-articulate) common sense out of different interests, beliefs and practices (Slack 1996).

READING

For a message to come to life depends on what the reader makes out of it. As the ‘receiver’ is active in the communication process, makes it more accurate to speak of the ‘reader’ of a message, rather than the ‘receiver’. Reading is to be understood in a broad sense, not only the reading of a text, but also the reading of a picture, a painting, a sound-signal, a movie or society. Reading is something we engage in and may choose to do, in search for meaning. Reading is also something that we both learn to do, and how to do, suggesting that this is a contextual and political act. Not knowing what to look for in a picture, a novel, a movie, a song or a society, may limit the generation of meaning. (Fiske 2002).

For communication to take place, requires a certain degree of shared knowledge, frames of references, language and so forth. The shared knowledge may be subject to the workings of hegemony and thus shifting.

Emphasizing the Freirean approach in this chapter, I have attempted to bring in four other aspects for the purpose of seeing the Freirean approach in a wider theoretical framework. While questioning the practice of teaching critical reading and the facilitator’s seemingly un-positional position, hegemony theory may help to think of these as influenced by their context. Storey (2001) suggests that the workings of

hegemony may well be thought of at a local and an individual level. By naming relations and changes in relations as 'social capital', may contribute to awareness of this feature of social organization. However, using the concept here attempts to appreciate contextual diversity.

I will now turn to the chapter on methods.

3. METHODS

The aim of this chapter is to go through how I have conducted the study, and to account for the choices I have made in gathering the data and writing this thesis. For obvious reasons, it is impossible to account for everything that may have influenced on this study. What is accounted for here is the primary data gathered through two fieldworks, and the use of secondary literature, with emphasis on the former.

RESEARCH DESIGN

The research-process includes a series of decisions. Therefore, the researcher has to stress being conscious and critical in relation to choices and decisions, and how her or his position in the inquiry may influence on the research results. The credibility of the research-results depends on the way the basis that the knowledge rests upon is made explicit. This involves accounting for the approaches chosen during gathering of data, how the analysis is conducted and how the results are interpreted (Thagaard 1998).

Quantitative and qualitative methods

The strongest drive to undertake this study was my curiosity towards relations and mechanisms between HRE and mobilization at an individual level. A qualitative approach is the most suitable for such an in depth study. In depth interviews were also necessary in order to single out the HRE from other elements that may have influenced on mobilization.

However, I did not regard this as satisfying since I also wanted to explore women's human rights knowledge in rural Senegal in general and its impact on a collective level. I believe that investigating patterns and distribution of human rights knowledge may expand my understanding in a way that a qualitative approach solely cannot. Thus, a mix of qualitative and quantitative methods was chosen. Thagaard (1998) notes that qualitative methods seek to go in depth and emphasize meaning, whereas quantitative methods emphasize distribution and figures.

On a mixed methods approach, Creswell (2003) notes that researchers using a mixed method, bases the inquiry on the assumption that gathering diverse types of data best provides an understanding of a research problem. Both quantitative and

qualitative data are gathered sequentially through closed-ended measures and open-ended observations and interviews respectively. In order to generalize results to a population, the study begins with a broad survey, and then focuses, in a second phase, on detailed qualitative, open-ended interviews to gather detailed views from the people in question. Carling (2001) warns that a disadvantage of mixing methods may be that it reduces opportunities for in depth involvement with each method.

This case study represents a microscopic selection of women in rural Senegal. Thus, as Stake (2000) notes, one of the purposes accounting for the choices made should therefore be to make the findings contribute to a wider context, such as supporting or building existing theory, new theoretical reflections and transferability.

The research topic in this case requires a mix of methods for two reasons. First of all, the quantitative survey was used to examine the level and distribution of the human rights knowledge, whereas the qualitative study was used to investigate reasons for, and characters of impact of the human rights knowledge. Mapping different areas of impact in order to contextualize these provided an understanding and functioned as a point of departure preparing for the qualitative study. Second, due to the comparing of the two sites, I believed that a relatively representative selection was necessary.

Case study

The primary data are gathered through a case study. A case study requires contextual sensitivity. One of the reasons for this is that, in contrast from the experiment and the social survey, a case study seeks to get a deeper understanding of processes that a social survey cannot provide (Hammersley & Gomm 2000). One of the reasons to undertake a Pre fieldwork was to get to know Senegalese culture and society to some extent before the main fieldwork.

Hammersley and Gomm sketch some central components of the meaning of 'case study', noting that this approach contrasts with the experiment and the social survey. Through a case study, information is gathered and analysed about a large number of features of each case. 'Case study' is usually referred as that which investigates a few cases, or only one, in considerable depth. Quantification of data is often not given priority, and qualitative data may be treated as superior. The main concern in a case study approach may be with understanding the case studied in itself,

with no interest in theoretical inference or empirical generalization. This does not exclude however, attempts at one or other, or both of these. A wider relevance of the findings may be conceptualized as a basis for transferability.

This section accounted for the research design. The following section will go through some considerations before the gathering process is accounted for.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE DATA-SETS

The primary data are gathered from discussions, interviews and talks with people as well as participatory observation and fieldwork diary. Carling (2001) notes that gathering data from different sources and by combining methods is important for the sake of alternative perspectives.

The primary data are based on the following:

- Pre fieldwork undertaken October-November 2001.
- Discussions and talks with people at 8 organizations working with educational issues in Senegal.
- Three months fieldwork from February to May 2002.
- Pilot project. Testing the interview-guide, preparing myself to undertake an investigation on an unfamiliar topic, talks with the village-leader and the women leader.
- Quantitative study; 103 structured interviews.
- Qualitative study; 10 semi-structured interviews.
- Fieldwork diary, including notes from unrecorded interviews, talks and observations.
- Participating observation in Dakar living with male Senegalese in their late twenties/early thirties.

Thus, several ways of data gathering was done. I believe that the several different sources of data have provided a rich data material and contributed to different perspectives during the study.

Pre fieldwork

The main fieldwork was undertaken from February to May 2002. As my prior knowledge of Senegal was limited, I decided to undertake a Pre fieldwork of five weeks in October-November 2001. This visit had several purposes. First of all, it enabled to make practical preparations. This way, the planning of the fieldwork and the research design would be based on broader information and it helped ensure that the research would be possible to conduct.

The second aim of this visit was to get an understanding of the work of Tostan, and the assumptions underpinning its educational program. Through talks and discussions with several representatives (Teachers, Project managers and Head of Tostan) gave important information that could probably not be acquired through secondary literature. It was necessary to get a profound understanding of the practices of this NGO, in order to attempt to reconstruct the organization's involvement in Tene Toubab.

The third aim of the Pre fieldwork was to discuss educational issues with relevant persons, organizations and officials in order to get a perspective of the debate on educational development in the Senegal. These discussions were characterized by two issues; educational practices for development in general, and (as Tostan has a good reputation across Senegal) an HRE approach in particular. These discussions enabled me to view Tostan's practices in a contextual perspective as well as getting some ideas of different challenges Senegal faces in relation to education. Four concerns were stated through these discussions; a) literacy first, then acquiring other knowledge of one's choice, for instance human rights; b) to make people literate in the eight biggest Senegalese languages; c) the curriculum should be about Senegalese literature, culture, history and politics and not about the former colonial power France; d) Senegalese youth of today do not consider education as a future investment, but believe their chances to succeed in life are greater becoming a football pro, a music star or emigrate to the US or Western Europe.

Last, but not least, this visit was an opportunity to make contacts and friends. During the main fieldwork, these friends and contacts facilitated meetings with people and organizations, they contributed to practical arrangements (like finding a driver) as well as introducing me to Senegalese customs and culture.

Main fieldwork

Four villages were visited. The quantitative and qualitative studies are conducted in the villages of Tene Toubab and Ndiop/Keur Diadie. Tene Toubab is the village where Tostan has conducted the HRE. Ndiop/Keur Diadie are the villages used as control site that Tostan has *not* conducted the HRE.

Ndiop and Keur Diadie are two villages to kilometres apart from each other. Eleven quantitative interviews were conducted in Keur Diadie and 42 in Ndiop. The qualitative interviews in the control site were conducted in Ndiop. These two villages share the same features and will be referred to as the control site.

Keur Demba Ngoye is the village where the pilot project was conducted and where Tostan also has conducted the HRE (see village area map on pages 38-39).

The quantitative study consists of 50 interviews in Tene Toubab and 53 in the control site. These interviews lasted between twenty and thirty minutes in Tene Toubab and ten to twenty minutes in the control site. The qualitative study consists of 7 semi-structured interviews in Tene Toubab, and 3 in the control site. Two of the respondents in Tene Toubab were interviewed two and three times respectively. The semi-structured interviews lasted between one and two hours in Tene Toubab, and one hour in the control site.

The quantitative and the qualitative study was first conducted in the village where the women had participated in HRE, Tene Toubab, and then in the control site of Ndiop/Keur Diadie where people had not participated in this HRE. The third-time qualitative interview with one of the respondents was conducted after the study in the control site.

In Tene Toubab, Tostan conducted the HRE for women of age 15 to 45. This is also the age of the respondents in this study. The quantitative study was first conducted in Tene Toubab followed by the qualitative. The same order was followed in the control site. The opposite order may have influenced the answers in the quantitative study, more than in the order chosen, as longer, semi-structured interviews may generate more reflection and meaning.

The female literacy rate in Senegal is 18%⁵. This implies that the quantitative

⁵ The Official Home Page of the Republic of Sénégal. <http://www.earth2000.com/da/info.html>
Downloaded February 2004.

study had to be done orally which is more time-consuming than a written, postal one. This has limited the selection of respondents in the quantitative study.

Selection of interpreter, villages and respondents

Inter-ethnic conversation is not always a straight-forward practice in Senegal (interview). Since I were going to interview women, a female interpreter could contribute to a relaxed and open atmosphere in the interview-situation. And, since some of the respondents would be at young age, a female interpreter would also to some extent function as deportment.

As Thagaard (1998) notes, when conducting fieldwork in an unfamiliar country, one studies a culture from an ‘outside’ perspective. It is however to some extent necessary to ‘enter’ the culture the researcher is studying. One advantage with being outside is that it may facilitate the researcher in posing questions on issues that the respondents are taking for granted. Since I was definitely ‘outside’, it was necessary that the interpreter could provide ‘entrance’. At the same time, I did not want the interpreter to be too familiar with the context. In order to preserve sensitivity towards issues that the respondents may take for granted, the pre fieldwork also functioned as an ‘entrance’ to the unfamiliar context. Hence, I chose using a female, English-speaking interpreter from Dakar, with the same ethnical background as the respondents, which is Wolof.

In order to single out the HRE’s impact, it was necessary that Tene Toubab and the control site as far as possible shared the same characteristics. The characteristics accounted for are:

- No other official agencies or NGO’s is or had been engaged in the villages.
- Same religion; Islam.
- Same ethnic groups; Wolof.
- Same economic basis; farming (groundnuts); fruits and vegetables sold at the markets.
- That the villages were located in the same distance to the nearest bigger cities; Nguekhokh, Mbour, Thiès and Dakar (see map on pages 38-39).

These characteristics were established through interviews with the village leaders in the two sites, the women leader in Tene Toubab and Tostan. These characteristics were also checked through the interviews.

One NGO called Zonta is involved in running a school for children in Tene Toubab. This school was established before Tostan conducted the program there. Apart from being involved in the school, Zonta has also contributed in digging a well in the village. According to Zonta's representative in Senegal, Mme. Vieira, the organization does not conduct any human rights- or other adult-teaching programs in Tene Toubab. She did not know of any organizations other than Tostan and Zonta that had conducted programs in the village (interview). One of the teachers at the Zonta-school also said that Zonta and Tostan were the only organizations that had been involved in the village (interview). Asking the women leader, she only knew of these two organizations having been involved in Tene Toubab.

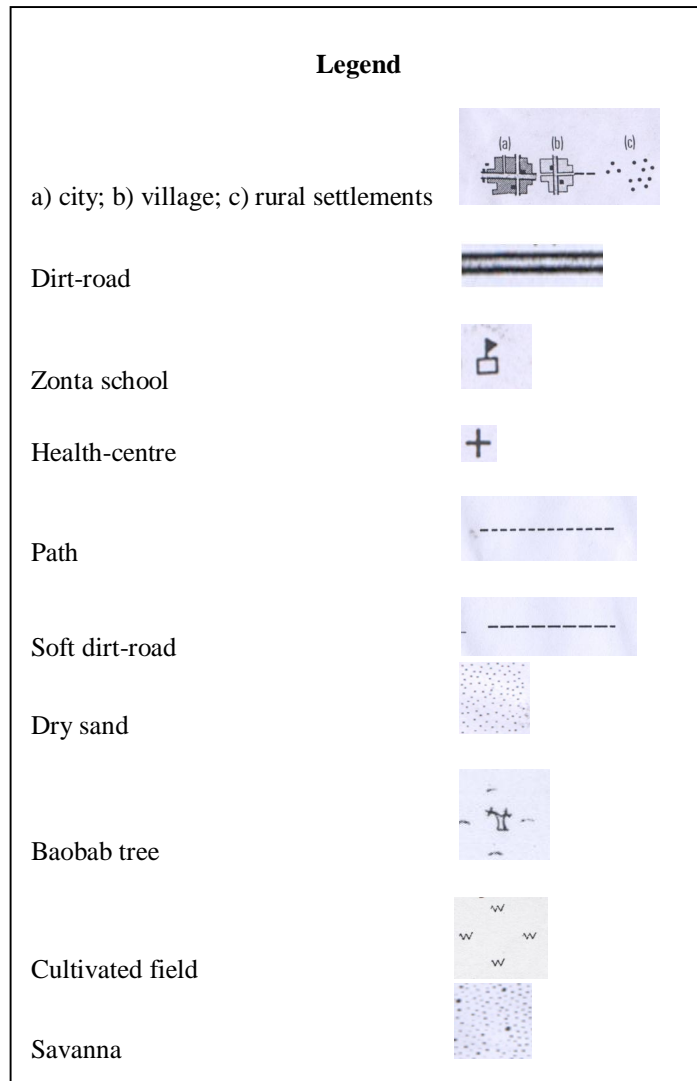
Before visiting Tene Toubab, a pilot project was conducted in Keur Demba Ngoye where the interview-guide was tested. This visit made me more familiar with the interview guide. It enabled me to consider the order of the questions and what the questions may generate or not. I used this information when making the final interview guide. The visit to Keur Demba Ngoye also gave me an idea of how to approach a village; asking for the village leader, the Imam, or just start asking people questions? It turned out that the common conduct when visiting a village is to make the first contact with the village leader. Thagaard (1998) notes, that pilot-interviews are important, in order to be prepared for new and unfamiliar research situations.

The population of Tene Toubab is 1287⁶. According to the village leader, about two-thirds, or 858 of the population are Wolof. Assuming that half of these are women, 469, then 50 respondents represent approximately 11.5% of the Wolof-women in Tene Toubab. Tostan did not have figures of how many that had participated in the program in 1997-1998. Nevertheless, I will argue that the selection of respondents in the quantitative study to some extent is representative. The population of Ndiop is 1420⁷ and in Keur Diadie 276⁸ respectively.

⁶ Census 2001, figures from Centre de Suivi Ecologique, Dakar.

⁷ Census 2001, figures from Centre de Suivi Ecologique, Dakar.

⁸ Census 2001, figures from Centre de Suivi Ecologique, Dakar.



CIA – The World Factbook <http://www.odci.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/sg.html> Downloaded February 2004

A dilemma emerged in selecting respondents for the quantitative study. It was crucial that the respondents did not link me to Tostan in any way as this may have influenced the answers; giving ‘correct’ answers in order to achieve goods or making statements that could discredit Tostan if they had bad experiences of the NGO from the past. At the same time, it was necessary to know whether the respondents had participated in the Tostan HRE, since HRE is here exemplified by Tostan. Not knowing this would have made it more difficult to discuss mobilization as a result of HRE. It also would have been less relevant to investigate the human rights knowledge in the control site and make comparisons between the two sites unless I could identify the origin of the human rights knowledge.

This dilemma was solved by asking the women leader if she could lead me to neighbourhoods where she knew that women had participated in the HRE. Since I wanted to down-play my presence in the village, I believed this was the most satisfactory solution. Different neighbourhoods in different parts of the village were visited. Though I had to say that I wanted to speak with women that had participated in the Tostan classes, I stressed that I had no linkages or interests in Tostan being a Norwegian student preparing for a thesis on the topic education and development. The interpreter was briefed that it was necessary that the respondents did not connect me to Tostan. During the interviews, I never mentioned ‘Tostan’. During the interviews, there were no doubts that the respondents referred to the Tostan HRE classes. It was also clear whether the respondents had participated in the classes or not (only two out of 48 had not participated). The women leader was also told that it was necessary to get to the Wolof women only, and not the Serer (ethnic group) part of the village. The respondents in the control site were approached in the same manner. The women leader from Tene Toubab came with us and presented me to the village leader. However, selecting respondents was easier this time, since the only criterion was that the women were between the age of 15 and 45. The selection of the respondents for the qualitative study was based on the quantitative by the following criteria; the fact they had been thinking about the impact of the human rights knowledge to some degree (from my point of view, though); different age which was 25, 35, 37 and 43⁹; that they were from different neighborhoods; that they had different views on the human rights knowledge and that one or two of them had participated in the micro

⁹ I chose not to interview the respondents of age 15 as I was unsure of how much these respondents could add to what they had answered in the quantitative interviews.

credit program.

The making of the interview guide

Two points will be made here regarding the interview guide for the quantitative study. Experience from conducting interviews at people's homes for an agency in Norway influenced the way I decided to conduct the quantitative interviews. In such surveys, there are many questions, and scales are often used from which the respondents shall choose. Such inquiries are also characterized by a type of questions of recognizing certain terms, items or products. Conducting such interviews, there is a clear sense of common cultural frames of references so that the interviews are conducted in an effective and proper manner. There are limited risks of fundamental misunderstandings. This enables the interviewer to go through several questions in a relatively short time. However, this may not be the case in an unfamiliar culture. I wanted to make sure that each and every question was posed properly with no misunderstandings giving the respondents time to elaborate while maintaining their attention.

The second point regards the importance of learning how to use the interview guide. I believe that there is no such thing as an 'ideal' interview guide that may help produce the 'best' knowledge. The interview guide is a 'dead tool' that only has the value that the user is able to bring to it. It is important to analyze, think of and interpret the answers in light of the interview guide so that the answers given may be seen in relation to what is being asked in a proper manner. Since there are so many factors that may influence during the interview process, this is important as no interview guide is able to grasp all of them. I also experienced that the limited number of questions may have enabled me to learn and know the interview guide well¹⁰. On this background, I decided to focus on a limited number of questions in the quantitative survey.

A particular interview guide was not made for the qualitative study. Based on the quantitative study, themes and issues were discussed in a semi-structured manner. In order to get comprehensive information, these interviews were characterized by open-ended questions focusing on letting the talk float freely, and at the same time

¹⁰ See appendices II for questionnaire notes.

lead the talk in the direction of the issues I wanted to explore.

THE GATHERING PROCESS

This section examines how the interviews were conducted and my role as a researcher in the interviews and the interview situation. This section refers both to the quantitative and qualitative interviews.

In the meeting between the respondents, the interpreter and I knowledge is produced as we communicated with each other. Thus, the three of us may learn and come to new reflections during the interview. This means that 'gathering' data does not signify dissecting or uncovering information lying in the interior of the respondent, but rather to register as much meaning as possible generated in the interview. The relationship between the researcher and the respondent influences the knowledge produced. Therefore, the 'quality' of this relation has implications on the material the researcher gets. It is thus important that the researcher considers the impact of the relationship between the researcher and respondent on the research results (Thagaard 1998).

Interviews

When meeting the respondents they were informed that I was a Norwegian student and that their answers would be used exclusively in writing a thesis. The respondents were informed that I expected that they would tell me if and when they wanted to end the interview. I also asked if it was ok to tape the interviews. Thus, the respondents gave me an informed consent before starting the interview.

The interviews for the quantitative and qualitative studies were conducted one at a time in the respondents' homes. I did not get the impression that the respondents hesitated to answer or that they felt uncomfortable in this situation. A group interview may certainly provide information that a face-to-face interview does not. Synergy may evolve in groups and a safe, relaxed atmosphere may be established. Hence, this form of inquiry may be a valuable source of information in the context studied (interview). On the other hand, I will argue that existing power relations in such groups may silence certain voices and raise others, giving an uneven presentation and impression of the issues discussed. In a face-to-face interview the respondents get full

attention and are given time to articulate and think through her own words and thoughts. Due to time limit, organized group discussions were not undertaken.

Interview situation

The most comprehensive data material is based on a combination of tape recorder and notes. The tape recorder registers all the oral information given, whereas at the same time, the researcher makes notes during the interview. The researcher may then be relatively relaxed in relation to the writing of the notes, since what is being said is registered (Thagaard 1998). The use of tape recorder worked very well as this made me focus on the interview situation, body language and the work of the interpreter. The interviews were conducted at a time of year when the women did not have much work or other activities to do. They seemed to have much time, something they also expressed, and I never got the impression that they wanted the interview to end due to time pressure.

This final section of the chapter on methods, considers strengths and weaknesses in the data material. It finishes with an account for how the analysis was conducted.

EVALUATION OF THE DATA

In this part issues that may have influenced the trustworthiness of the data are considered.

Due to the nature of the research topic discussing the impact and perception of human rights knowledge, seen as 'soft' features, the terms 'validity', 'reliability' and 'generalization' are replaced with 'trustworthiness', 'degree of confirmation' and 'transferability'. Trustworthiness is linked to whether the research is conducted in a trustful way. The degree of confirmation is linked to the quality of the interpretation and whether the understanding the single project undertakes is supported by other research¹¹. Transferability regards whether the interpretations based on the study, may

¹¹ It should be noted, that interpretation is not seen here as an objective method of getting closer to a 'true' understanding. Hobart (1999) asks how it is possible to determine whether what is interpreted is 'authentic' or not just another interpretation. The interpreter cannot transcend her- or himself from her or his frames of references.

be valid for other contexts as well (Thagaard 1998). These three terms will be used for both the quantitative and qualitative study. The discussion here will regard both studies in conjunction.

Interpreter

Towards the end of the fieldwork, I held a presentation of the study (for the most part the methods, but also the findings) at Media Centre Dakar (MCD). The aim of this presentation was to get feedback from Senegalese people. The audience of 40 people consisted of students, female and male, five Teachers and two external Professors. This presentation proved valuable for several reasons: The work and the interpretation undertaken by the interpreter; my interpretations of women's life-situation in rural Senegal; how human rights may be conceived in Senegal as a Western concept and the relationship between Islam and human rights. The interpreter's translation was discussed and supported by the audience including the key words 'human rights' and 'right'¹². The translation of these key words was the same that Tostan is using in its HRE vocabulary (interview). The characteristics of the interpreter as noted above (from Dakar, female, English-speaking and same ethnic groups as the informants) seemed to have contributed to a relaxed atmosphere and at the same time being sensitive to things the respondents may take for granted. It is my impression that the interpreter was alert during the whole study. Asking one of the respondents how she would have felt if I had conducted the interviews by myself, she said:

‘Without your interpreter there are several things I would not otherwise have told you, as you would not understand this being a man’ (interview).

The interpreter may not only function as a language-interpreter, but also as a context interpreter facilitating non verbal communication in the interview situation.

¹² In Wolof there are three alternative terms referring to human rights, but one of them is regarded as the most commonly used, and the correct one in relation to the research topic, which is *sañ sañu domou adama*. *Sañ sañu* means 'right'. This word has two meanings; to have a right as a human being, and to 'dare' (interview and presentation).

Control site

The use of the control site enabled me to link the HRE to Tostan and to see whether there were differences between the two sites. The fact that no other NGO's had been engaged in HRE in Tene Toubab also strengthens the claim that the HRE is linked to Tostan. No other NGO's had been engaged in the control site. Since I was comparing the two sites, it was important that they shared as many 'similar' characteristics as possible, except the HRE. The control site also gave information of how 'human rights' are perceived as something that may help to improve the life situation in the village. As the respondents here had not participated directly in a HRE program, they did not elaborate much about the concept apart from characterizing it as something positive and good.

The weakness of using a control site may have been that it kept me from doing more investigation in Tene Toubab. On the other hand, seeing 11.5% as a representative selection of the women in Tene Toubab, as well as in depth interviews two and three times with the same respondents, may justify the decision conducting a similar study in the control site as this may have provided more perspectives and insight than only focusing on Tene Toubab.

The quantitative study was undertaken orally due to the low literacy rate. Since conducting this is more time-consuming than conducting a written, postal survey, it has limited the number of respondents. On the other hand, the opportunity to meet all the respondents face to face has provided rich material that may have escaped a written survey, such as atmosphere, body language and the degree that the respondents were open and took their time to answer faithfully and thoroughly. In addition to answering my questions, these interviews provided several different personal stories which broadened my understanding of the context. Because the women were prepared that we would come back, this may have influenced the answers. However, when conducting fieldwork in a foreign culture, it is important to respect the written and unwritten rules.

As noted above, since the use of the tape recorder seemed to work out well, it has enabled me to focus on what is being said and on the interview situation. My impression was that the respondents took their time to reflect on my questions and tried to respond as thoroughly as possible giving exhaustive answers.

It is my impression that quantitative and qualitative methods have been complimentary, providing multiple perspectives.

Pilot project

The pilot project gave four valuable insights: First of all, how the interview guide worked, and what answers I may expect. The interview was partly revised after this first test (question ten was dropped, see analysis of the interview guide in the last part of the analysis chapter). Second, I got an impression of how the interpreter acted and got to discuss and agree on the conduct of the research. The third insight regarded my own conduct during interviews, and the fourth regarded the use of the tape recorder.

Using secondary literature

According to Eneroth (1984) several issues should be considered when using secondary literature. As all researchers bring with them pre-assumptions of a given subject, it is necessary to attempt to track down their perspective in order to approach the text critically. Secondly, since the researcher has to make a selection from the whole body of data material, the researcher tends to emphasize what she or he finds most central to the discussion undertaken based on her or his theoretical background and pre-understanding. Data are often categorized in a certain way that hides the whole spectrum of the 'original' data framing possible interpretations of the material. Reading the secondary sources critically is therefore important if one wants to use them to say something new about a phenomenon with another theoretical tack. It is also important to see the information from the analysis of secondary literature in conjunction with other sources of information, both from other secondary literature as well as from observations and interviews.

How the analysis was conducted

Two overlapping theoretical frameworks have influenced the work with this thesis. The fieldwork was guided by investigating linkages between education and development (seen as social, economic and political changes improving opportunities and life situations of women in rural areas). One of the outcomes of this may be that

the data gathered and features focused on represent different perspectives.

On the other hand, basing this study on two frameworks from different time periods during the work may have produced data that are not in depth on any of the approaches. The response to this, I will argue, is that these theoretical frameworks may rather be said to overlap, than excluding one another. The researcher's scientific theoretical basis influences on what the researcher seeks information about, as well as forming a point of departure for the understanding developed (Thagaard 1998).

As not all information is registered on the recorder or in the field-notes, it is necessary to register what is in the short-time memory of impressions and interpretations as soon as possible. I felt that the immediate thoughts and impressions was a useful and valuable factor in the immediate interpretation of the data. The first step in managing the data was to count the data from the quantitative study. When these were counted, categories were constructed based on these data. Regarding the selection of the categories 'activity space', 'relations' and 'outlook', 'relations' is identified from the data material. The other two are pre assumed categories I wanted to examine (see questionnaire notes in the appendices II on the operationalization of these two categories). The three categories are broken down and accounted for in the introduction of the analysis. As Thagaard (1998) notes, although interpretation of the qualitative text may be linked to the researcher's theoretical position, this does not go against that tendencies in the data material may influence the understanding the researcher reaches. Thus, there is a mutual relationship of influence between the researcher's theoretical position and tendencies in the data-material.

When analyzing the qualitative texts, I chose not to categorize the qualitative texts prior to the writing process. I decided to use this data material as references during the writing. On this process, Thagaard (1998) notes that characteristic for qualitative research is that the different aspects of the research process are not clearly separate. Interpretation and analysis cannot be split from each other, because the work with systemizing the data also makes the researcher reflect over the data material's significance and develops perspectives on how the data may be understood. This means that the researcher can work simultaneously with the different parts of the research-process, creating a mutual influence relationship between design and research-objective, gathering of data and analysis and interpretation.

By registering and analysing the data continuously during fieldwork, this

produced new reflections and perspectives that are helpful when moving on with the study. This was particularly evident after the quantitative before moving on with the qualitative study. Analyzing the material, both themes and the meaning are searched for. In order to grasp a fuller meaning, these are then compared with each other.

The chapter on methods emphasized gathering data from different sources for the sake of multiple alternative perspectives. I believe the data material to some extent reflects this. The pre fieldwork, mix of methods, being introduced to an unfamiliar culture living with Senegalese as well as confronting my interpretation of the study before a Senegalese audience may all contribute to sensitivity to diversity.

The use of control site, the interpretation 'control' at Tostan and MCD, and similarities between the two sites as well as relaxed interview situations due to the calm period in the villages may suggest a certain degree of trustworthiness of the data material. On the other hand, the relatively short period of time to undertake the inquiry, unfamiliarity of the culture and lack of group discussions may suggest a limit of the information used when constructing the analysis. Though the female interpreter may have contributed to a relaxed atmosphere, the fact that I am a white man, may have restrained the respondents to say what they think to a white man from an unfamiliar culture not speaking their language.

I will now turn to the analysis.

4. HUMAN RIGHTS EDUCATION AND MOBILIZATION

The analysis is divided into three parts.

The first part discusses *whether* mobilization has taken place. It then attempts to discuss the degree of mobilization and the lasting impact of the HRE on mobilization.

One problem of the study is to single out the impact of the HRE on mobilization from other activities in the Tostan program. This problem is attempted solved in the second part by discussing other activities than the HRE undertaken by Tostan that may have led to mobilization. The third part discusses how women relate to a) the human rights knowledge, b) their husbands' opinions and c) Islam. The attempt is to think of these conceptions as constituting a negotiation-field and to look at the position of the human rights knowledge in this field. It may be argued that discussing its position may be used either to support or discard the findings in part one.

Before moving on with the analysis, this first section will briefly account for how the data are used in constructing the analysis. Whereas the categories 'politics', 'health centre' and 'relation towards husbands', 'relations towards relatives' and 'relations towards society' are constructed on basis of the data material, 'income generating activities' and 'outlook' were partly pre assumed categories (These categories are discussed below). Though a few other categories may be identified from the data material, such as the ability to travel to do business, to send your children to school, to get an education, and to live in a healthy environment, these were mentioned by one to three respondents only. The categories dealt with in the analysis significantly outnumbered the other categories. 'Women' refers in the following to the quantitative data. In a few cases, the in depth interviews produced answers regarding 'women'. In these instances, it will be made clear that these are statements from a qualitative interview. Based on the quantitative data, questions were prepared for the in depth interviews. The data from the in depth interviews serve two purposes; to investigate the relationship between human rights knowledge and mobilization, and to expand the contextual understanding of the villages and respondents. Since the quantitative interviews were conducted orally, data from this study also touch the issue of the relationship between human rights knowledge and mobilization.

MOBILIZATION

This section is divided into three parts. Each part examines whether changes in women's activity space; relations towards their husbands, relatives and society, and outlook respectively have taken place. The last section of this chapter investigates two characteristics of mobilization; degree of mobilization and lasting impact as a result of the HRE. Before turning to chapter 5, the reader of this thesis shall watch a three minute DVD animation film.

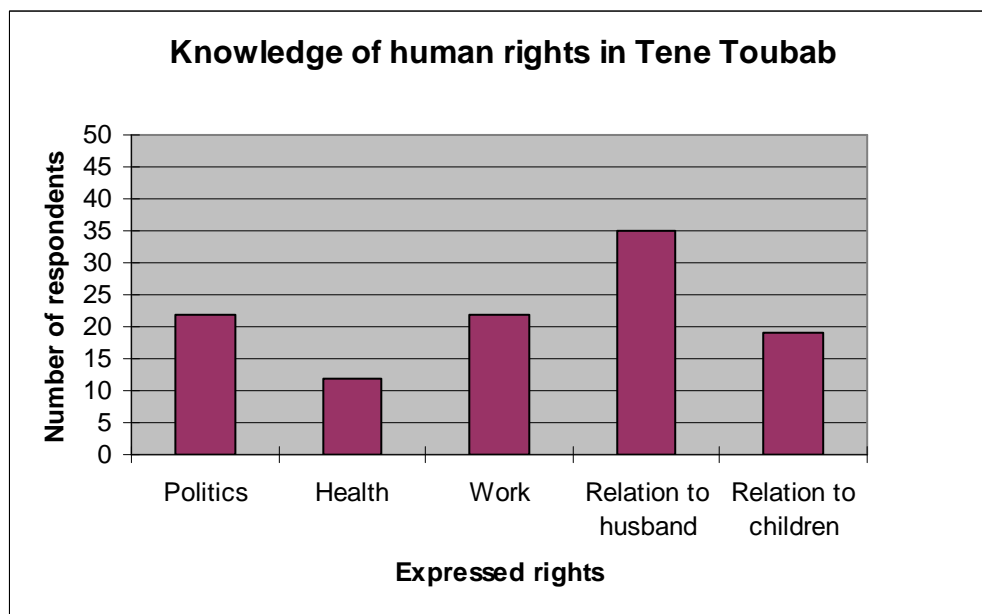


Figure 1. Knowledge of human rights in Tene Toubab

Source: Fieldwork.

Note: Similar figure is not made for the control site. The reason for this is that responding on Q2; 'What do you know about human rights?' the respondents in the control site merely expressed the challenges in the village, and not any particular right. I will get back to this point below.

Figure 1 shows issues of which the respondents related certain rights. Figure 4 and 5 on page 52 show the number of respondents that had/had not experienced changes as a result of the human rights knowledge respectively, in Tene Toubab.

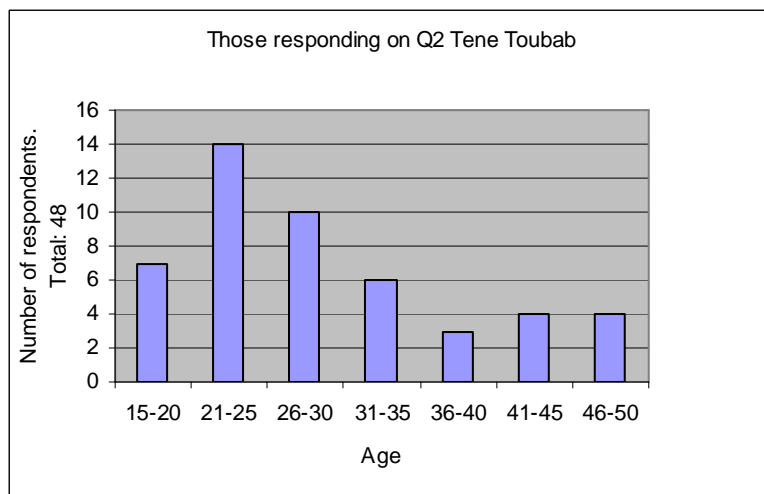


Figure 2. Human rights knowledge in Tene Toubab. Source: Fieldwork
 Note: Those responding on Q2, stated 'yes' when asked Q1:
 'Have you heard of human rights?'

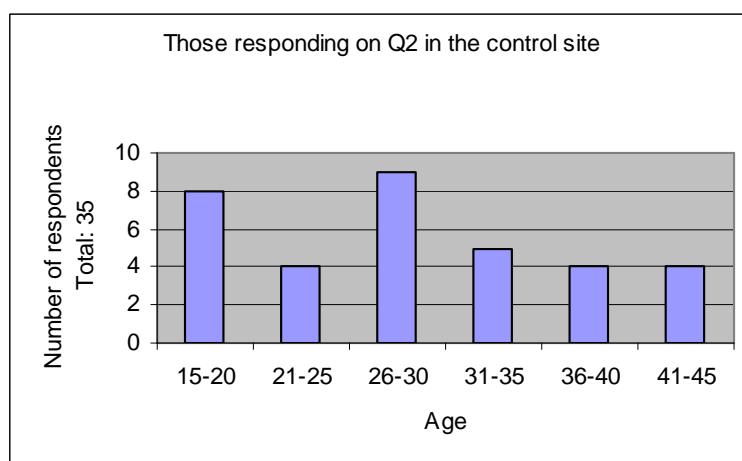


Figure 3. Human rights knowledge in the control site. Source: Fieldwork.

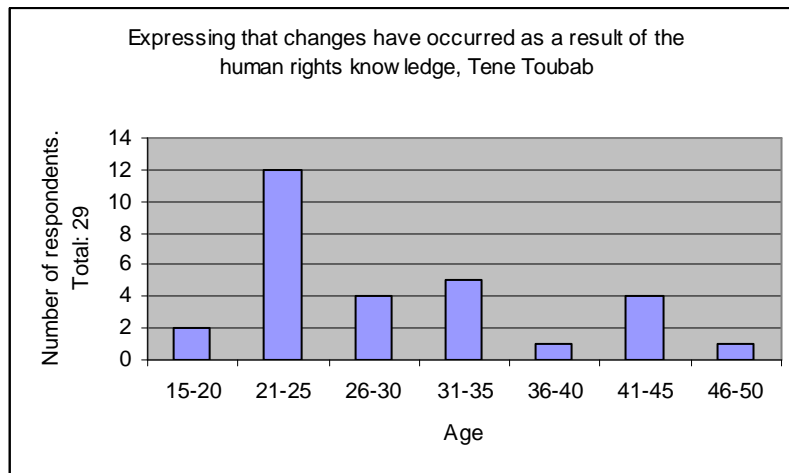


Figure 4. Expressing changes.

Source: Fieldwork.

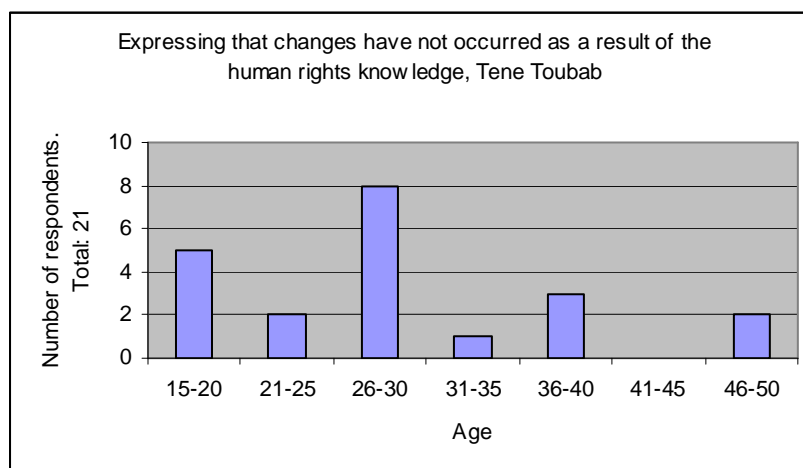


Figure 5. Expressing no changes.

Source: Fieldwork.

CHANGES IN WOMEN'S ACTIVITY SPACE

This part discusses whether the women's activity space has changed or expanded as a result of the HRE. Three categories of the women's activity space will be dealt with here; women's relation to income generating activities; the health centre and politics.

Obstacles for women regarding income generating activities

The issue of income generating activities was expressed in both Tene Toubab and the control site as being one of the most important challenges in order to improve the life-situation for the people in the villages. As noted in the introduction, the groundnut monoculture makes people in the area vulnerable to economical, political and climate changes (interview).

The income generating activities women in both sites engage in are selling goods at the market, processing groundnuts to some degree and doing small businesses such as sewing and hairdressing. Goods sold at the market are fruits, vegetables, home-made clothes, bakery-goods and eggs. In cases of surplus of millet from the household-food, this is also sold at the market.

During the spring of 2002, the villages suffered from very little food due to heavy rainfall in January destroying the seeds and fields. The food situation was also due to the fact that the governments had not yet bought the last year's harvest of groundnuts. One woman had sold the entire household's millet and expected the family to live on the remnants of processed groundnuts for groundnut oil, for the rest of the year.

The women in the two sites sell their goods at the markets in Tene Toubab and Nguekhokh which is a twenty minute drive from Tene Toubab. However, the activity at the market in Tene Toubab has declined during the last couple of years, and most people go to the market in Nguekhokh. People do not possess cars, making this distance about an hour walk. A taxi may be available once a day, but this is rather expensive and not an option on a daily basis for many of the women. Selling goods at these markets generates limited income (interview). Some also travel to Mbour, Dakar or Thiès which are all an hour drive from the area.

Farming does not represent a sufficient contribution to the household

economy. The male workforce is for the most part out of work in the villages. This means that they need to go other places in order to find other sources of income. During the last six years, more and more men are seeking jobs in urban areas and bigger cities, and are away from the villages and their families for longer periods. The poor economic basis in the villages makes women and the household particularly vulnerable when the husband is unemployed (interview).

According to Muslim practice in the context studied, the man is obliged to support his family. The man is also seen as superior to women. The women's role is to take care of the house and children. For a woman to seek work would be both against this norm as well as humiliating the husband in the sense that he would be seen as incapable of supporting his family (interview). Senegalese society prefers



Remnants of processed groundnuts.

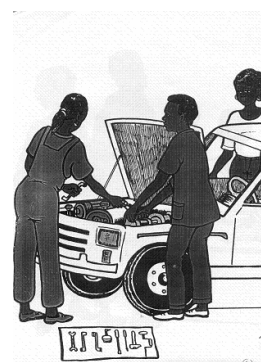
male labour force to female. It is difficult for a woman to get a job that is perceived as male work (interview).

The issue of finding alternative income generating activities in rural Senegal was discussed with a farmer from Touba in central Senegal. Coming from a farmer district and a family that has been engaged in farming for generations, as well as employing one hundred people, this farmer was very familiar with the different aspects of farming in general, especially the groundnut sector. One of his main concerns was the challenges groundnut farmers were facing in the future as a result of the privatisation of the groundnut sector, which was put through in 2001 (this was the year before the fieldwork was undertaken). This implies that the governments no longer could guarantee that they bought the groundnut harvest. Poor infrastructure and lack of a credit-system enabling farmers to invest in capital goods such as trucks and harvesting machines will make this shift very difficult for a lot of people. It may cause great hunger for many people across Senegal (interview). However, during the study, no one in the two sites seemed to know that the groundnut sector had been privatized.

Hence, women may face several obstacles regarding income generating activities. The dependency of the groundnut-sector as well as high unemployment in the region and in Senegal as a whole may strike women harder than the men, since it seems that they have access to fewer income generating activities than the men (interview). Being dependent on the markets is thus (indirectly) a gender-related obstacle. Social pressure due to Islam may also restrict the women from leaving the villages in order to find income generating activities.

The HRE-impact on income generating activities

This section explores whether and how the HRE have had an impact on women's relation to income generating activities¹³.



Asking whether the human rights knowledge had led women to undertake activities that they did not do before they learned about human rights, two women explain why it has not, and two why it has:

Q: Has knowledge of the right to have a job led to anything that is different?

I

‘Women have always actively engaged in income generating activities’ (interview).

II

‘No, knowledge about the right to choose a profession has not led to any new activities. It *may* lead to new activities in general, since we now know that women can have the same profession as men. For others, for the society it may lead to changes, but it has not for me. Lack of means is the problem. [...] It is not only the man that can do this. This I know. [...] It is nothing new that we know that the man cannot contribute with everything here, but the reason why I contribute to the household is because of the situation of today. It is hard to live rural. The man cannot contribute with everything’ (interview).

III

¹³ Before conducting the study, I learned that ‘work’ includes both housework and paid work. This distinction was accounted for during the interviews.

It has encouraged me and made me more willing to get a job.
[...] I have always known that I could, but now it is
something that is stronger' (interview).

IV

'Now, I know that I have the right to do business. I could
have done business before also, but then I would have had
to ask my husband first.' (Interview)

Asking one woman whether the human rights knowledge could
be used to put pressure on governments to pay a better price for
the groundnuts, she 'no, this knowledge cannot help us to
demand higher prices for the groundnuts' (interview). Asking
whether they had changed the way they organized the selling of
their goods because of the human rights knowledge, no one had
changed these practices.



It may be suggested that women feel more comfortable in seeking work as a result of
the human rights knowledge. Several women express that knowing that they have the
right to the same profession as men, as well as the right to contribute to the household
economy has led to this. However, this has not been manifested
in new or other income generating activities because of the
human rights knowledge. Furthermore, comparing with the
control site, having an income was clearly the highest priority;
women here responded that they would undertake any activity in
order to achieve this. On the other hand, women in Tene Toubab
claiming that the human rights knowledge had made them more
comfortable seeking work, expressed this not only as an
imperative need to contribute to the household economy, but also as something they
were entitled to on the same basis as their husbands. This argument was not expressed
in the control site.



What is more, as the woman in the second quote above pointed out; lack of
means is the problem. Feeling more comfortable in seeking work comes short when
there is no work or income generating activities to find. Thus, though expressing this
confidence is not a sufficient condition changes in activity space related to income

generating activities to happen. It may be argued that the poor economic basis in the area limits the potential for changes in women's income generating activities, as it is hard to find income generating activities at all. If the activity space has not changed because of the HRE, it may be less due to relational and social obstacles and more to economic ones. Nevertheless, it may be that for some of the women, there is one obstacle less to deal with in order to engage in income generating activities. However, the area may experience better times on this matter. Knowing the right to work on mutual basis as men may prove to be an important condition for the women to expand their activity space in relation to income generating activities.

According to the women leader in the village of Keur Demba Ngoye (pilot project), women have limited access to landownership in rural areas. This limits



The market in Tene Toubab.

women's possibility to grow and sell independently of men. She expressed relief that women now are eligible to own land, and related this change to the HRE conducted by Tostan in the village (interview).

However, so far, it seems reasonable to claim that changes in women's activity space regarding income generating activities to a limited degree have occurred. Being encouraged and feeling more comfortable in seeking jobs may suggest this. However, unemployment, lack of means in the region and the groundnut situation may seem to be a greater obstacle for women (and men) to find income generating activities that

significantly contribute to the household-economy than social pressure.

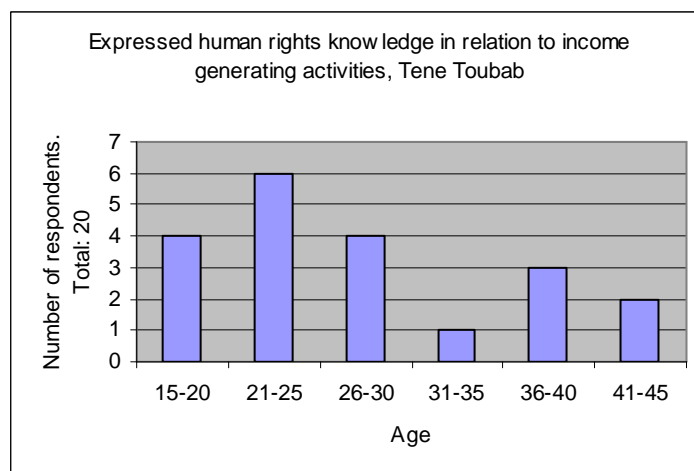


Figure 6. Income generating activities. Source: Fieldwork.

The health centre

This section briefly discusses the issue of the health centre.

Bringing their children to the health centre in Tene Toubab was of great concern by many of the women. This is a new activity that they directly linked to the human rights knowledge. One woman explained why:

‘This knowledge has made us demand our right to bring our children to the health centre’ (interview).



The women also clearly stated the reason for this; changes in the relation towards their husbands. They no longer needed his permission to bring their children to the health centre if it got ill, waiting for him to return from work. This is particularly difficult when the husband is several hours away, which is often the case (interview). Many of the women expressed relief over this change. The women had learned through the HRE that they have the same right as their husbands to support their family, this includes health.

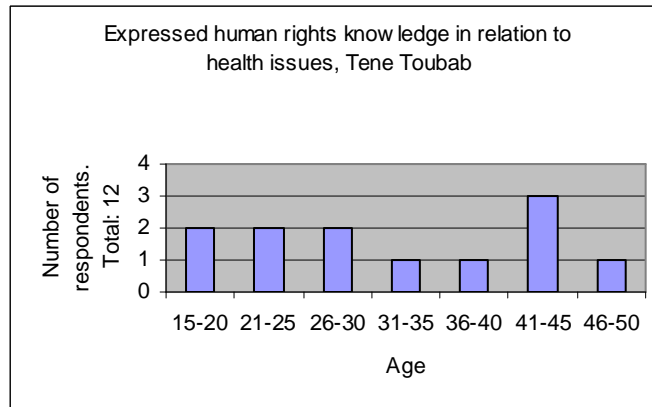
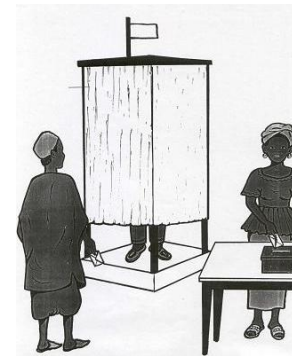


Figure 7. Health issues.

Source: Fieldwork.

Politics

The third category regarding activity space is women's relation to politics. Political activities are here regarded as voting, being elected, being member of a political party or an organization. Feeling uncomfortable with voting, kept women from the voting sites. Engaging in politics was also difficult as this was seen by both men and women as the domain of men (interview). This has changed as the women now feel more



confident expressing their opinions, voting and entering the political arena, as well as experiencing increased access after learning about the right to do politics.

'Yes, if there are any political organizations I want to participate in, I can discuss this with my husband and tell him that if I get elected this may lead to improvements for the family. I did not know that I had the right to do this. Now, as I know that I can seek to participate in a political organization, I can discuss this with my husband...It is not like I did not know that I had the possibility to make a decision before, but knowing the right to do it, makes me seek to engage in politics, discussing it with my husband. I did not do this before' (interview).

The women feel more ease in actually voting as well as voting for the party of their choice during elections. A stronger confidence being member of a political organization of their choice was also expressed.

One of the respondents in Tene Toubab was actively engaged in politics in the

village. When asking her if she believed that the women in Tene Toubab were more political active as a result of the HRE, she said no;

‘...people in Tene Toubab are not interested in politics. The only political activity they undertake is voting during elections, apart from that, there is no interest in politics in the village. They only do formal politics through voting’ (interview).

Commenting on politicians in Senegal, she said that;

‘Politicians are as bureaucrats, they are only serving their own interests. The governments do not care about the groundnut situation’ (interview).

Another woman gave her version of the meeting between politicians and the people in Tene Toubab:

‘What usually happens during elections is that the politicians come and promise, bring with them gifts and throw a party. The people in Tene Toubab do not believe in what they are saying, and think they are only playing a false game. But we go along with the politicians and eat and drink and have fun for those days it goes on’ (interview).

The point here is that even though women may have learned the right to do politics, it does not necessarily follow that this may lead to any changes in the village regarding politics.

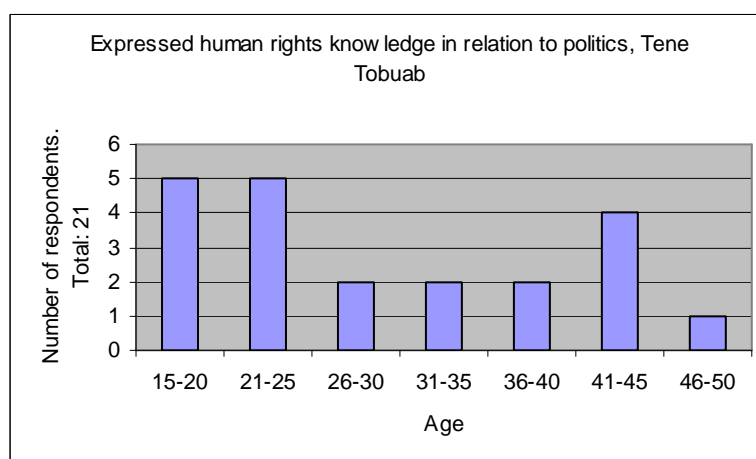


Figure 8. Politics.

Source: Fieldwork.

Changes in the political leadership in Tene Toubab

The new confidence in engaging in politics however, seems to have had a definite impact. The political leadership in Tene Toubab established after the HRE is now female. The politically engaged woman mentioned above claimed that this was because of the human rights knowledge. When the women had learned that they had the right to do politics, they got together and demanded electricity and improvement of the road since the male politicians could never agree on anything and got nothing done (interview).

The road connecting Tene Toubab, Nguekhokh and Thiès is in a relatively poor condition. Improving the road is crucial. It may attract travellers and tourists from south going to Thiès to pass Tene Toubab, instead of the detour through Dakar. A better road makes it easier to go to the Nguekhokh market, and is likely to increase the activity at the Tene Toubab market (interview). Busy roads also function as market places. Improving the road may facilitate the selling of the women's fruits, vegetables and homemade clothes.

The people in Tene Toubab have tried to get the road improved since 1985. The road was improved to some degree after the HRE (interview). It is not paved with asphalt though, like the 'competing' road from Dakar to Thiès is. The politically engaged woman explains:

'It has changed, the road is, the way it is now after we had the classes, after the way we formulated their wishes. [...] I know I have to be engaged in politics in order to make changes. [...] We have asked for improvements of the road since 1985, and changed the way we expressed our demands. And as a result of this change, the road is like it is now. [...] We stood together, before we did not have much, the elderly men were doing all this, and they disagreed among themselves' (interview).

This woman said two things. First, that the human rights knowledge has lead to no changes in women's relation to politics in Tene Toubab (women only engage in politics formally by voting), and that women have now taken over politics in Tene Toubab. This may be interpreted as the women have taken over the political function as the women got together and demanded a better road, and partly as a result of this, the road has been improved. It may also have been the case that the women

constituted a political pressure group towards the men, demanding that the men cooperate with them and take action, and demanded improvements of the road. Hence learning the right to politics may in this sense have triggered a political consciousness that encourage women to engage in decision making. This may suggest that at least some of the women have changed their activities in relation to politics, and that not all are only engaged in politics formally during elections.

As to politics, it may be suggested that women's political activity space in Tene Toubab has expanded significantly as a result of the human rights knowledge. Knowing their rights to vote, being elected and being members of political organizations seems to have made women more confident on this matter, and even had an impact on political decisions. Further, this change may seem to have contributed to the improvement of the road. As will be discussed later, this is expressed as one of the most important improvements needed in both Tene Toubab and the control site.

Regarding women's activity space as a whole, it seems that this has expanded to a limited extent towards work and more towards the health centre and politics as a result of the human rights knowledge. Whereas obstacles in bringing their children to the health centre and to do politics are of a social character, obstacles towards income generating activities are lack of means, condition of the road, unemployment and low-activity markets *in addition* to social obstacles, and thus of a more economic, material character. Though it seems that women feel freer in getting work, and that this has led to real improvements to the household economy, knowing you have the right to support your family and to get work, does not mean that you will find work.



Selling fruits and vegetables along the road is an important though limited source of income.

CHANGES IN RELATIONS

This section is divided into three parts. It discusses changes in relations between women and their husbands, their relatives and the society respectively.

‘We began with the conviction that the role of man was not only to be in the world, but to engage in relations with the world – that through acts of creation and re-creation, man makes cultural reality and thereby adds to the neutral world, which he did not make.’ (Freire 1974:43)



Changes in relations with other people were emphasized by women in Tene Toubab and particularly towards their husbands. Women in the control site hardly expressed relations with other people, relatives or their husbands as an issue of concern.

Relations towards husbands

It seems that women’s activity space is related to their husbands’ opinions to a certain extent, suggesting that changes in this relationship influence several aspects of women’s lives. This woman comments on the relationship with her husband:

I respect my husband more now than before.

Q: Why is that do you think?

Because we were taught that we should respect our husbands.

Q: And that is a human right?

Yes, because whatever position women have, she should always respect her husband.

Q: Respect, do you mean that you always have to get your husbands’ permission to do things?

Yes, you may know that he agrees, but I should always ask his permission first anyway (interview).

When Tostan makes a first contact in a village, the organization makes sure to discuss human rights with the Imam, Priest and a Doctor of the village and the village leader

so that they can reach common ground where human rights is accepted by the four 'parties'. Through these meetings, the four of them may realize that human rights do not contradict with other local practices (interview).

When Tostan first set up their classes in Tene Toubab in 1997, they were met with scepticism by the men in the village. The women were told by their husbands that human rights contradicted with the Koran, and that the women could not participate in the classes (interview). This was also the case in Keur Demba Ngoye when Tostan first arrived there (interview). After the first HRE in Tene Toubab the women got together and discussed how they could explain to their husbands that there is nothing in human rights that contradicts Islam. The women managed to discuss the issue with their husbands, and the husbands' protests abated. As women argued before their husbands, they were allowed to continue the classes:

'We did not have any problems, because the first time we learned about equality between men and women, we discussed this among ourselves on the way back from school, and when we arrived our homes, we discussed this with our husbands. They responded that this is quite normal, but the men knew about it.

Q: The men knew about human rights?

Yes

Q: Why did the men know about it and not the women?

They knew it from different places.

Q: Do you think it is because they have more schooling?

Yes, that may be the reason, because men attend school longer than women, because the women leave after six years' (interview).

It may be that the men felt their position threatened as bearers of Islamic teaching when they heard about Tostan's program. They may have felt their position as the head of family was threatened. Since the women were taught something that the men were not, it may be that they felt their hegemonic position as head of the household was threatened. The village leader in Keur Demba Ngoye said that part of the reason for the scepticism Tostan was met with by the men, was because men felt that they would lose power as the women's human rights knowledge would make the women demand more. He also expressed that some people in the village, men and women,

were sceptical towards human rights. It was considered a western, alien idea and that Tostan would attempt to impose this on his village. However, as they learned more about human rights, the scepticism diminished (interview). As it is the duty of the husband to support the family, according to Islam, the wife cannot undertake activities not authorized by her husband (interview). This may be another explanation of men's scepticism; the role as the head of the household may be a point of honour¹⁴.

The wives of the Imam in Tene Toubab were allowed to participate in the HRE. The Imam also encouraged women to participate in the HRE. This move may have made it easier for the husbands to allow their wives as well. The Imam also announced that human rights do not contradict the Koran (interview).

‘As the women in the Imam's family, his wife and daughter participated in this school [the HRE], he encouraged us to attend also’ (interview).

Thus, the strategy of Tostan, the Imam's acceptance of human rights and the women explaining to their husbands what they were taught all seem to have influenced on men ‘accepting’ the HRE in Tene Toubab.

One respondent explained that she had considered attending the HRE, but that her husband had talked her out of it (interview). This respondent was in her early twenties. Asking another respondent, in her early forties, whether she had heard of anyone that had been kept from attending the HRE by their husbands, she said that

‘...it was not the husbands that kept their wives from attending the HRE, like they said, but the women themselves being lazy. If these women really wanted to attend, they would have’ (interview).

Another explanation why women did not attend the HRE may be suggested by seeing

¹⁴ Participatory observation at the ‘other end’:

During the fieldwork, I lived with Senegalese men in their late twenties/early thirties. Two of my friends that I spent most time with had moved from smaller villages to the capital in search for jobs in order to send money to their home village. This participating observation gave me a cultural sensibility and understanding of the challenges they faced. It expanded my understanding of the workings of the rural exodus of labour force in order to find work in the bigger cities, and their families in the villages expecting remittances. As with my friend, he could not visit his home-town unless he brought money and gifts to a relatively large number of relatives. He was heavily affected by this fact both physically and mentally. This may prove as a demonstration of why ‘equality between woman and man’ may not be seen as easily adopted, by both Senegalese women and men.

this quote in light of the Freirean scheme. Freire (1995) argued that the oppressor-oppressed structure may internalize the oppressed becoming oppressors of their own wishes, thoughts and action. Women that did not attend the HRE may in this regard be unaware of why they did not. They may not realize that they indirectly (because of an oppressive husband) keep themselves from going. As men are seen as superior to women according to Islam, this may lead to a commonsense conception of an oppressor-oppressed relationship being accepted by both women and men. This may further keep women from accepting that they oppress themselves, even though they realize that this happens.

Several women expressed that it was easier for them now to undertake any activity they wanted because of the human rights knowledge. Women felt more confident expressing their views and opinions towards their husbands.

‘And also, if there are things I want to do, and I discuss this with my husband, and he does not agree, and this is something that I have the right to do, I do it, because I know that my husband also knows human rights. My husband cannot keep me from doing anything’ (interview).

On the other side, it was also clear that the husband did have ‘the last word in choosing profession, and actually seek work and that it was not an option to go against his opinion’ (interview). However, regarding the relatively poor economic basis in the area, when it comes to contributing to the household economy, it was clearly stated that women did not feel that their husbands laid restrictions on them.

To the degree that the relation towards a woman’s husband is an obstacle to undertake income generating activities, it may be argued that lack of means overrules this obstacle. This may be illustrated by looking at a couple that wished to become independent from the governments regarding the selling of their harvest. In this case, the relationship between husband and wife seemed to be characterized by mutual cooperation. The reason for wanting to be independent was this: The husband had saved all the income from the groundnut harvest from last year which was 2001 (the year that the groundnut sector was privatized). The husband put this money together with his wife’s in order to buy their own seeds and sell the groundnuts on their own.

‘My husband did not borrow anything, he did not ask for anything. He took his own money and bought the seeds, and now, it was 75.000 (900,- NOK), and now he cannot even get 75.000 for the groundnuts. It is a crisis, a scandal. [...] The point is that the government pays too little according to the farmers’ needs’ (interview, my paranthesis).

Normally, the government hands out seeds on credit and then collects the payment for the seeds when the groundnuts are sold. The couple lost all their savings because of this. The woman telling me this was very sad. When I asked if the human rights knowledge could do anything in this situation, she just shook her head ‘no, my husband and I will have to find other ways of getting by’, was her response.

This quote may suggest another issue; whether this woman was aware of the privatization of the groundnut sector, her husband being aware of this and whether he had told his wife.

It is by no means evident that changes in the relationship between husband and wife have influenced on women’s activity space in relation to income generating activities. The change in the relationship between wife and husband was more clear-cut regarding bringing children to the health centre set up by Tostan.

It seems that the awareness of how women’s relations towards their husbands affect their life-situations may have increased. The HRE in Tene Toubab may have made the women more confident, but also being more confident in expressing this to me, being an issue they have always been aware of, but without confidence or a way of expressing it that they felt comfortable with. As will be discussed later, the human rights knowledge may have expanded women’s repertoire. Women feel that they are heard and respected inside the household more than before. They feel more confident than before the HRE in expressing their views and opinions, and that their husbands actually accept that they discuss matters regarding the household and family.

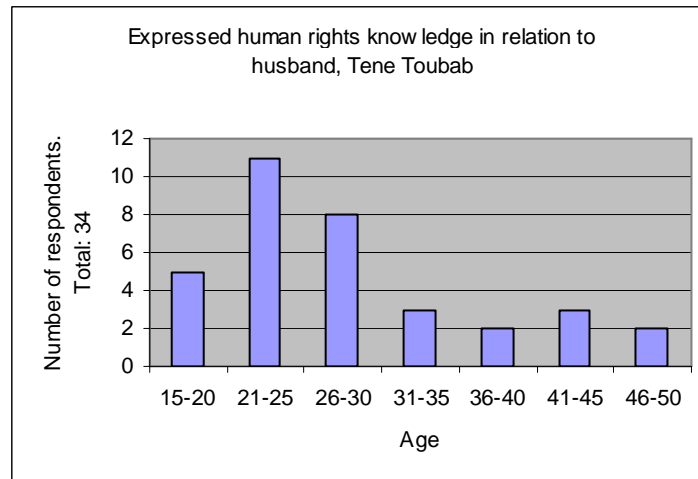


Figure 9. Husband

Source: Fieldwork.

Relations towards relatives

This section examines women's relationship towards their children, in-laws and relatives. Half of the respondents expressed that they now were heard and respected by their families, in-laws and children more than before as a result of the human rights knowledge. Bringing their views and interests towards relatives was easier now than before. They also expressed that they 'now know how to be with people' (interview). One woman said this about her relationship with her six year old daughter:

'When I look at her, I know that she respects me. I have never felt it like that before with any of the other children' (interview)

However, it was also expressed that women's position inside the household is strong. Women take care of the family and have the responsibility in the house (interview).

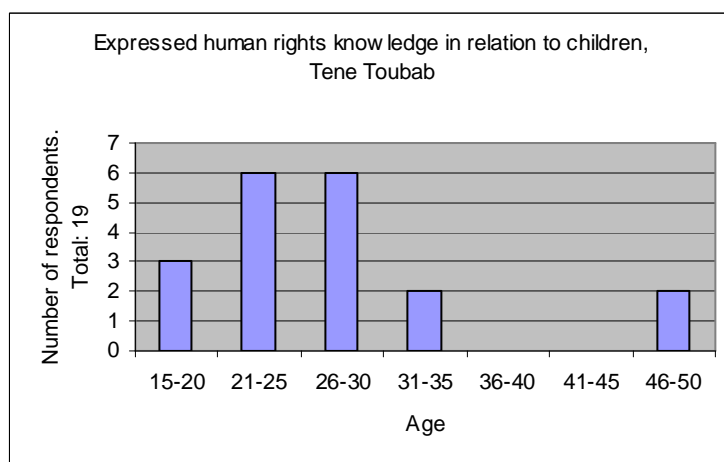


Figure 10. Children.

Source: Fieldwork.

Relations towards society

This part attempts to investigate the extent women's relationship towards society has changed.

The Senegalese society has defined the goals for Senegalese men and women's lives. As a consequence, girls are not given priority at schools and in education. The society is not willing to admit that the goals set are the reason for this priority.

Boys watch television and learn French, while the girls work in the kitchen and do laundry. When girls do not get as high grades as the boys at school, this is seen as an evidence of boys' biological superior intelligence (whereas the reason is because girls are not given priority.) This reinforces the conception that women should take care of the household work, while men should earn money (interview). Though I have not examined this issue further, it may suggest that women face social obstacles due to conceptions of their role in the Senegalese society.



One reason why women in Tene Toubab may feel more comfortable seeking work may be that dare challenge established social norms more than previously. As the human rights became known in Tene Toubab may have lead to increased acceptance that women could go and seek work. It is not only the husbands' opinion that influences on the degree women go and seek work. Seeking work has to be accepted outside the household as well. Feeling more confident may not only be a result of an increased self-esteem knowing your rights, but also that your surroundings express an increased degree of recognition of your choices and claims in

society. Regarding the issue of forced marriage, one woman said;

‘There is a tendency today to focus on women's rights. We have the right [...] to choose the husband we want, and can say no to forced marriage. We [the women] have the right to wait with getting married until there is love and you want to. We cannot be forced to this at early age 13, 14 and 15 like before’ (interview).

This tendency may have had an impact on other areas regarding women’s relationship towards society as well. Increased confidence in voting, entering the voting sites and to engage in politics may be one such area of relational change towards society. Feeling more comfortable in seeking work may contribute to resolve the conception of giving priority to men in the labour market in the Senegalese society, as the women claim their right to seek work.

Changes in relations towards society may also be illustrated by the significance of women’s labour force. Those men claiming that the HRE contradicted with Islam may not have realized what the HRE was all about (interview). They argued that it was not good for women to learn about contraception, according to Islam:

‘However, as women used gris-gris (amulet) before as contraception, taking a pill is actually the same thing. And the men realized that it was not good for the women or the family that women got pregnant all the time. As the land is the only thing we have, if the women are pregnant all the time, they cannot work on the soil. We cannot afford to lose the female labour force’ (interview, my parenthesis).

(As it was stated above that men knew human rights from before, this quote may question this.) Changes in relation to society may also be due to Tostan’s strategy arriving villages, meeting with the Imam, Priest and Doctor telling them that HRE is compatible with them all.

Changes in relations, especially between women and men, may be termed social capital, as it seems that these changes facilitate women to undertake other activities in addition to the ones before the HRE. Furthermore, it may be argued that men may benefit from these changes as their children may get to the health centre sooner in cases of illness and through women’s engagement in politics. On the other hand,

considering the context, it may be questioned to what degree this social capital can meet the challenges of the privatization of the groundnut sector as well as the dependency on this monoculture. Thus, if this social capital cannot deal with the challenges of the very basis of income, this may, as Harriss (2001) notes exemplify how 'possessing' social capital not necessarily is a sufficient condition to turn it into any advantages due to contextual restrains. Mohan & Stokke (2000) warn against such internal emphasis, what they term localism. However, hiding such features of the concept, articulating social capital as commonsense may be convenient and a means to exercise control and dominance, from the point of view of certain hegemonic positions.

The discussion in this part suggests that changes in relations have occurred, especially towards husbands. It seems reasonable to believe that this change is largely due to the human rights knowledge. However, this part suggests that changes in relations do not only depend on women's actions, but also on 'acceptance' on a society level.

CHANGES IN OUTLOOK

This part looks at whether and how women view themselves positioned in relationship to their surroundings in different ways than before they learned about human rights. One crucial question in this regard is whether this has occurred through critically reading society and to what degree this may have influenced on women's actions.



Freire states that

‘...the form of action [women and men] adopt is to a large extent a function of how they perceive themselves in the world.’ (1995:64)

Furthermore, Freire argues that the oppressed, in order to be liberated, have to get conscious of their socio-historical context as active subjects, in order to critically view the world through conscientization. Regarding the relationship between outlook and mobilization, Villalón (1995) notes, that poverty not only robs people of choices.

Poverty also reaches the imagination becoming addictive by taking away the individual's capacity to even imagine changes. Tostan and participants in the program in other villages in Senegal, state that women 'have now learned to see', and that 'there has been a paradigm-shift' (Tostan¹⁵, interview).

The respondents in Tene Toubab expressed a mentality change, but in a more modest manner.

I

'From my point of view people have changed, because the mentality has changed, there has been some kind of evolution' (interview).

II

'It [the human rights knowledge] made something that was already there clearer and gave it more depth' (interview).

These quotes may illustrate how outlook are linked to the human rights knowledge. On the other hand, it was also expressed in Tene Toubab that human rights are something that come out of ones own thinking, and that human rights have not contributed to anything that was not already there or that may contribute to changes in women's life-situation (interview). It was also stated by some of the respondents that 'human rights are just commonsense'.

A clear tendency in the data material is that women in Tene Toubab seem to be well informed about the challenges the village faces, and that this has not changed as a result of the human rights knowledge. Further, it may be questioned to what degree the human rights knowledge may contribute to change the situation regarding electricity, clean water and the road in Tene Toubab. These are some of the most crucial issues that need improvements. But, if somebody helps them, as was stated by some of the respondents, the human rights knowledge may push people in the village to be more engaged on this matter (interview).

At an individual level however, it was evident that women have become more

¹⁵ www.tostan.org Downloaded February 2004.

aware of limitations in their life-situation, and that the human rights knowledge had contributed to this increased awareness. Though the respondents in the control site also expressed the same obstacles for improving the life-situation in the villages, the respondents in Tene Toubab were able to elaborate much more on this issue. How women see themselves in society is expressed different between the two sites. It seems that women 'claim' a position to a larger extent in Tene Toubab than in the control site. But there are also differences in Tene Toubab. Whereas it seemed that the younger women expressed their choices and activities undertaken, depending in their husbands (in some cases future husband) and Islam, it seemed that the older women expressed themselves through their own, personal reflection. Women may have become conscious about their voice and position in society to a larger degree than before, and not only conscious of their rights. It may be suggested that HRE may 'discover' and 'give' the individual and groups of individuals a voice, and thus contribute to bringing them out of a culture of silence in a Freirean sense.

Though people were aware of the problems in the village before the HRE, the HRE may lead people to seek knowledge more actively than before. Further, women express and discuss their problems among them to a larger degree than before the HRE, trying to transfer the human rights knowledge into their daily activities (interview). This may suggest that changes in outlook have influenced on mobilization. Though none of the respondents uttered 'a paradigm shift', it seems that the human rights knowledge has reminded and emphasized issues that are not new but nevertheless important. This change seems to influence how the respondents relate to their surroundings.

CHANGES INTERTWINED

This section discusses how the three dimensions activity space, relations and outlook may work together. Discussing this in conjunction with the Freirean term 'conscientization' may prove helpful in this regard.

As noted in the introduction, mobilization may have occurred if changes in one of the dimensions have taken place. This does not automatically imply conscientization. Hence, it may be suggested that conscientization is 'more' than mobilization as it is seen here, in the sense that changes in activity space and/or relations are consequences of critical reading of commonsense reality, taking action

against oppressive elements Freire (1995). Thus, conscientization may bring in an additional perspective to the discussion on mobilization. Figure 11 illustrates the break up of conscientization into the three dimensions.

This study may manage to establish a certain degree of mobilization as a result of the HRE. However, a Freirean interpretation of this may come to be termed activism. True emancipation requires that action is guided by a thought or motivated by an idea (Freire 1974). This claim suggests that conscientization may be regarded as a ‘preferred’ or ‘real’ mobilization. This issue will not be discussed here.

The three dimensions activity space, relations and outlook, need to be seen in conjunction with one another as these do not operate autonomously. Figure 11 illustrated how conscientization is operationalized here.

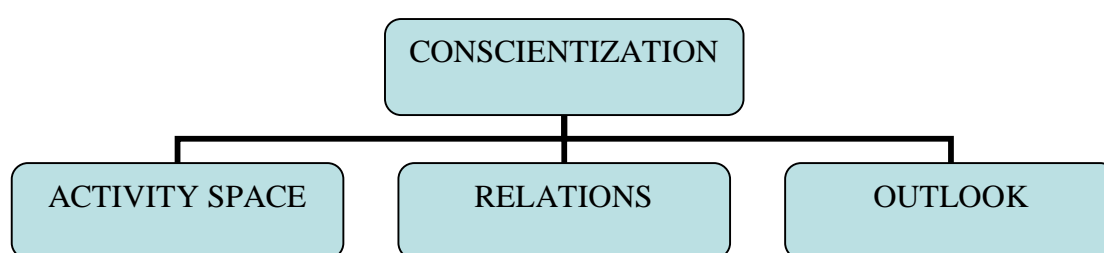


Figure 11. Conscientization.

Changes in women’s outlook may in some instances enhance their perception, motivation and self-esteem, in the sense that they are entitled to express their opinions, interests and goals. This may in turn increase their negotiation power towards husbands, relatives and society expanding their activity space and room for manoeuvre. (A further elaboration on negotiation power is made in chapter 6). The respondent (in the previous section) expressing the way the human rights knowledge has contributed to clear-sightedness of things she knew and giving it more depth, may suggest this.

Changes in outlook may also guide women to enter new arenas directly, without negotiation with other people. There is a tendency in the data material that

this latter 'direct route' seems to be a more accessible or preferred one for women above thirty years of age, than those below, than the 'detour'. It may be suggested that the direct route is chosen, without the husbands' permission, due to more life-experience regarding needs and obstacles in the village. However, it is not clear whether it can be suggested that women use this 'route' as a strategy to reach their goals and interests. Nevertheless, these routes may be suggested as a way of mapping the distribution or channels that the human rights knowledge may take. The direct route may be characterized in a Freirean sense as activism, whereas the detour may be more relevant to characterize as action against oppressive elements, conscientization.

Lack of means, however may restrain the potential of the use of human rights. 'Human rights' does not have any inherent power. Harriss (2001) points out that groups of people may well have strong social networks and social capital, but face contextual obstacles making them unable turning it into any advantage. Though the politically engaged woman claimed that the human rights knowledge to some extent has influenced on getting the road improved, she did not believe in such effect when it comes to getting a better price for their groundnuts (interview). The decision made by the Senegalese government, partly by pressure from the EU and the World Bank to privatize the groundnut sector (interview), may be suggested to be out of reach for the farmers in Tene Toubab to deal with, no matter the 'amount' of social capital they 'possess' as a result of the HRE.

Towards the end of the survey, I asked two of the respondents in Tene Toubab, whether they shared the view that human rights knowledge may have had more influence on areas that do not require means, than those that do require means. They both agreed that this seemed to be a reasonable claim.

DIFFERENTIATING MOBILIZATION

The following two sections suggest two ways of differentiating mobilization; degree of mobilization and lasting impact.

To what degree has mobilization taken place?

This question may seem somehow difficult to answer. According to what ‘standards’ should mobilization be seen in relation to? Having said this, the suggestion here is to think of mobilization in relationship with the context in question. This may help to grasp and analyse mobilization. It is approached as follows.

First, by asking the respondents in both sites what they regard as the most important issues in the villages to be changed in order to improve their life-situation, and second, to ask whether the changes that have taken place as a result of the HRE have influenced on these issues. To the degree these issues have been improved by the mobilization discussed here, this may be translated into different degrees of mobilization as; to some extent, significant, crucial. What may be problematic in this regard, is regarding the ‘most important issues’ as ‘authentic standards’ since they are embedded in the context studied. What people in villages express as ‘most important’ may not be un-touched from a wider context, nor from internal conflicts of interest. Determining what issues that may be important is also influenced by my frames of references. Nevertheless, a wish for clean water and income seem to be rather straight forward categories.

The main areas of improvements expressed in both villages were income generating activities, health, access to clean water, improvement of the road and electricity. There is a clear difference in what the women regarded as the most important issues that needed to be changed. However, it will not be further discussed what areas that may be the most important ones.

Based on the discussion so far, table 1 illustrates the relationship between important issues and mobilization. The scale goes from 0 to 2, where 2 signify a *significant* influence on the issue in question.

Table 1. Degree of mobilization

Expressed crucial areas	No impact	To some extent	Significant
Income generating activities		1	
Health (including health centre)			2
Access to clean water	0		
Improvement of the road (politics)			2
Electricity	0		

According to this table, out of 10 points, the degree of mobilization as a result of HRE in relation to expressed crucial issues in Tene Toubab is 5.

One problem with this scheme is that it does not critically view what changes or mobilization by or for whom and for what purposes in what direction. It does not take into account unequal power relations, or say anything about preferred direction of change. Thus, in order to apply the concept of social capital to this table, these are issues that have to be accounted for. It should be emphasized that it is not the objective of this study to undertake a discussion of *preferred* mobilization. However, as noted in the chapter on methods, my theoretical background in development geography certainly carries with it assumptions about development.

Changes in relations towards husbands may have been welcomed, but not considered to be among the crucial issues by anyone in the control site. Indeed, the respondents in Tene Toubab expressed this change as very welcomed and needed. However, being asked what they regarded as the most crucial issues that needed to be changed in Tene Toubab, changes in relations were not mentioned. This may either suggest that the human rights knowledge has ‘illuminated’ important issues, *or* that changes in relations in fact are not regarded as important. Though the respondents did not express political changes directly as something that needed to change, this was however expressed discussing the improvement of the road. However, this may suggest that the respondents do not link the HRE and mobilization as I do, probably not. Before the respondents can answer questions about this link, they would first have to create it. This point will be dealt with chapter 6.

I want to emphasize that the purpose of this section was not to ‘measure’ the degree of mobilization literally, but to suggest a way of thinking of mobilization for the sake of

differentiation. As the former practice may lose its contextual sensitivity, the latter may raise the awareness of diversity when analysing mobilization.

Lasting impact of HRE?

This section discusses whether the HRE has had a lasting impact in Tene Toubab. This is done by examining whether the human rights knowledge is embedded in social practices. Social practices accounted for here are the three dimensions investigated. Richards argues that:

‘Children, young persons, or adults only learn when they have a life plan in which knowledge is meaningful for them’ (2001:8).

It is assumed here that it should be possible to identify changes taken place as a result of the HRE three years after the HRE was conducted. If not, it may be questioned whether the impact of the HRE should be characterised as mobilization or as a one-time event. As the Tostan program lasts eighteen months, this seems to be a fair condition. Three findings may question the lasting impact of the human rights knowledge in Tene Toubab.

First, when asking the respondents in the qualitative study what they had been thinking after being interviewed on their human rights knowledge, one of them responded:

‘...it is interesting in the way that, now they know, they can measure the value of what they learned in the classes, because you ask us, and it is a kind of remembering, so that we might *not forget all*. We have forgotten much of it, maybe not all, but most of what we learned...older people told us to go and learn, and now we know what it means to have an education’ (interview, my emphasis).

Two other features regard the spread of the human rights knowledge. Similarities between answers in Tene Toubab and the control site were almost absent. Whereas the respondents in Tene Toubab used expressions like; ‘...you have the right to politics, you have the right to work, you have the right to health...’ and so forth, the respondents in the control site merely described human rights as ‘something good’,

‘helping each other’, ‘to work’ or ‘if God wants’. Though the respondents in the control site answered my questions, their answers could by no means be connected or related to the human rights knowledge as it was expressed in Tene Toubab. Three women in Tene Toubab that had participated in only two or three sessions, and then dropped out, were far from expressing human rights as good as the ones that had participated, even though they lived next door, and even in the same house. This may question to what degree the human rights knowledge has spread in Tene Toubab.

The apparent non-spread of human rights knowledge and the statement of the above woman, that they ‘had forgotten much of it’ may suggest that the human rights knowledge has had limited lasting impact. Would not something that is perceived as having a potential in improving their life-situation, have been remembered and spread to the surroundings? On the other hand, features in the data discussed above certainly suggest that human rights are not only remembered but have also influenced people’s activities and outlook to a certain extent. Indeed, the clear difference in answers between the two sites supports the claim that human rights are remembered quite well. Recalling human rights however without impact on the three dimensions studied here, is not regarded as sufficient to be termed mobilization.

Another point should be made here. Regarding the discussion above on women’s relationship towards society, it should be noted that the limited spread of the human rights knowledge in Tene Toubab may question to what degree the society of Tene Toubab is aware of and recognizes the human rights knowledge. This suggests that the reason why women feel confident seeking work is more due to changes in their view in relation towards society, than the other way around. This in turn may be added to the argument that women are empowered by the HRE.

Concluding on this section, it seems that the human rights knowledge has had lasting impact to a certain degree, both on social practices and in terms of what is remembered. This should however be seen in light of the apparently non-spread of the human rights knowledge to the control site and internally in Tene Toubab.

The latter two sections began examining mobilization in light of conscientization. This enabled to see how different elements of mobilization may relate to one another. Investigating the degree of, and lasting impact of HRE on mobilization was suggested as a way of differentiating mobilization. Such differentiating may not only be

important for the single case studied, but as well for the sake of transferring mobilization analyses by operationalizing it in order to facilitate contextual sensitivity.

AN ANIMATED FRAGMENT

Please watch the three minute DVD animation film now. The characters are fictive. The purpose of this film is to provide the reader with images. It should be considered in relation to what is said in this thesis. Though Wolof is the spoken language in the villages, the voice in this animated film is in English.

Chapter 4 examined how HRE may have influenced on mobilization without making account for other factors that may have influenced as well. Chapter 5 address such factors. The purpose is to single out the HRE from other elements of influence on mobilization.

5. EXAMINING LINKAGES BETWEEN HRE AND MOBILIZATION

This chapter examines three issues other than the HRE that may have influenced on mobilization; the set-up of the health centre, the micro credit program and organization in Tene Toubab.

The set-up of the health centre

The people in Tene Toubab are lent medicines in 100.000 CFA (1.200 NOK) of value from Tostan. These medicines are distributed and sold by the women from the health centre set up by Tostan in 1999, to the people in the area (including the control site). The money is then given back to Tostan without interests, and the surplus is divided among the Wolof-part and Serer-part of Tene Toubab (interview). The medicine is much cheaper at the health centre, than in Nguekhokh. Before, the women simply did not know what to do when their children got ill (interview). Along with HRE, Tostan emphasizes health education for women. As noted in the introduction, the themes that are emphasized are hygiene activities, oral rehydration, therapy and vaccinations. The risks of female genital mutilation spread of germs, menstruation, and issues related to pregnancy, birth and childcare are also issues in the health education.

Hence, four issues may influence on women's relation to health issues; the newly set-up health centre, women's involvement in it, health education and the human rights knowledge.

Though several respondents link the bringing of the children to the health centre to changes in relations towards their husbands, it seems reasonable to believe that the other issues accounted for here influence on this. The fact that there is a newly set up health centre in the village, and that women are actively engaged in running it and managing it financially is likely to affect how the women think of and relate to health issues. This organizational feature of the health-centre may also have led to synergy effects facilitating women's relationships with one another. In addition, knowledge of how germs spread, pregnancy, birth and child-care has been helpful for the women in Tene Toubab (interview). When the women learn about how germs are transmitted to their children and how this may affect them, and how to deal with it, it provides them with strong incentives to act differently, even if they had not learned about human rights. However, the human rights knowledge may encourage women to

use this knowledge more actively.

If the health centre had been located far away, it may be questioned to what degree the human rights knowledge would have brought any change in the health situation in the village. On the other hand, the set up of the health centre without the human rights knowledge and health classes, may suggest that the use of the health centre would not have been the same, or as efficiently run as it seems to be today, as expressed by several respondents. But, again the women claim in such a unison manner that they have the same right as their husbands to bring their children to the health centre. This may suggest that despite of new health knowledge, it is not clear whether the women would have acted against their husbands if it was not for the human rights knowledge.

Thus, seeing how women's activity space has changed in relation to the health centre, this section concludes that, though material as well as health educational measures are taken, it seems reasonable to argue that the human rights knowledge has influenced on this matter as well. Hence, it is suggested here that the four issues work together; the health centre, women's involvement in it, health education and the human rights knowledge. Furthermore, this may suggest how human rights knowledge to some degree requires change in means and infrastructure in order to bring changes. It should go along with other measures in order to facilitate changes in women's activities.

The set-up of the micro credit program

Tostan set up a micro credit program in Tene Toubab in 1999. By the time this study was conducted, the program was in its third round. Ten women get a loan of 150.000 CFA (1.850 NOK), and gets 15.000 CFA each. They are responsible to pay back the amount without interests during six months. The Project manager of the micro credit program at Tostan, Malick Pouye says that the return rate is above 97% in Tene Toubab, which, according to him is very good (interview). One of the women that have participated in the program had bought chicken and hens, selling eggs at the market in Nguekhokh.

'I still have the chicken and hens. I was happy with the

program. However, with a higher loan, about 500.000 CFA (6.000, - NOK) over a period of one year, I could have bought a sewing-machine, made clothes and sold it at the market. This way, I would have had a better chance to start a business. It would also enable me to buy cattle' (interview, my parenthesis).

The micro credit program certainly contributes directly to income generating activities through loans. Further it may indirectly do so by teaching the participants how to do a feasibility study, financial and material management, how to make decisions about income generating projects as well as management of human resources. As with the engagement in the health-centre, the micro-credit program may also have led to synergy effects and economic spill over effects. It may be suggested that the presence of the micro credit program contributes to changes in outlook, realizing that changes are possible, like Villalón (1995) notes, for women to engage more actively in new and existing income generating activities.

The data material regarding income generating activities are probably influenced to some extent by the fact that there is a micro-credit program in Tene Toubab. The respondents may refer to this when saying that the human rights knowledge has lead to changes in income generating activities. The program was in its third round during the study, ten women participating in each round (interview). Considering that twenty women so far had participated and that another ten were part of the program during the study, the data material regarding changes in income generating activities may have been substantially influenced by the micro credit program.

However, as only two of the respondents had participated in the micro credit program, it seems that changes in income generating activities have occurred apart from the micro-credit program as well. One woman comments on the program regarding this:

'Many of the women in Tene Toubab have still not yet participated in the program. Women have to apply to enter the program. If a woman does not fill certain criterion, she is not accepted to participate' (interview).

Regarding income generating activities, three issues were discussed in the previous chapter; a) that women in the village do what they can to make ends meet, regardless

of their husbands' permission, b) that the human rights knowledge has encouraged women to seek work more than before and c) that they need their husbands' permission to seek work. Though some women have undertaken activities directly or indirectly because of the micro credit program, it is difficult to see how these three categories of answers may be influenced by the program. Furthermore, the impression from the in depth interviews when discussing income generating activities in the villages in general was that this issue was expressed in a much wider context than that of the micro credit program.

Organization in Tene Toubab

Tostan's involvement seems to have influenced how people organize in the village, not only regarding the health centre and micro credit program, but also in naming ceremony gatherings. Forty women gather once a month giving 1.000 CFA (12, - NOK) each. The money are collected and saved. The purpose is to help each other in hard times and for the participants to afford naming ceremonies. These gatherings have proved to be very important, as profit from them in some occasions have been used to buy groundnut seeds. Women bring issues of concern to these gatherings and discuss them more than they did before the HRE (interview). Such discussions may create valuable inputs for the participants and may facilitate action and the use of the human rights knowledge more actively.



One woman explains one thing that has changed in these gatherings:

‘In the beginning [of the ceremony-groups], the one getting the money spend it to treat guests well. We spend money preparing meals. But we prohibited this, it stopped, because it took too much money, and that was not the purpose of the gatherings’(interview).

Changes in organizational behaviour in Tene Toubab may have influenced on the way women relate to each other and their surroundings making women of the village stronger collectively.

Regarding the organization of women through the health centre, micro credit program and naming ceremony, this may suggest social capital among women, and that women may regard this as a resource. Indeed, the change in the political sphere and leadership in the village, may suggest an increased awareness towards the benefits of organizing. However, Harriss (2001) argues that strong social capital among groups and organizations may lead to social exclusion for others. Hence, to the degree women in Tene Toubab have strong social capital among themselves, this may exclude men. This may be the case regarding the change of the political leadership. Furthermore, this could also be the case for women not having participated in the HRE, particularly those above 45 (and maybe even those in the neighbouring villages). It may also be suggested that men are being or feel excluded to some extent (however not examined here). Social capital may be applied to the Freirean scheme regarding changes in relations. But whereas strong social capital in one group may lead to the exclusion of other groups, Freire stressed inclusiveness by attacking the very oppressor-oppressed structure, arguing that this relation has to be broken for the humanization of people. If unequal power relations between groups lead to oppression of one of them, switching the roles through strong social capital will not solve the problem according to Freire (1995). On the other hand, regarding all women as oppressed, this may overlook those women that have not participated in the HRE. If the HRE lead to exclusion of these women, then, the oppressor-oppressed scheme may be criticized for overlooking internal power relations and exclusion.

I will now examine how women relate to the negotiation field.

6. A NEGOTIATION FIELD? MAKING USE OF HUMAN RIGHTS KNOWLEDGE

This chapter discusses how women relate to a) the human rights knowledge, b) their husbands' opinions and c) Islam. The attempt is to think of these conceptions as constituting a negotiation-field. Depending on the position of the human rights knowledge in this field, may be used either to support or discard the findings in chapter 4. Whereas the previous chapter discussed three issues that may have mobilized women *in addition* to the human rights knowledge, the first part of this chapter discusses two other issues that may *restrain* mobilization; husbands' opinions and Islamic conceptions.

As one of the respondents expresses:

‘...you can get knowledge [through the human rights knowledge], but you don't have to overuse it. If you use it (the human rights knowledge) in a proper way, I don't think that you will get into trouble’ (interview, my parenthesis).

During the quantitative study, it was a tendency that the human rights knowledge is not always easily compatible with Islam and as discussed above, husbands' opinions. One of the issues discussed in the qualitative study then, was how women relate to these three conceptions. It may be useful to think of these three conceptions as constituting a negotiation field. These are obviously not autonomous entities, influencing on each other, but seeing them in relationship with one another may help examining the human rights knowledge in a wider context. The position of the human rights knowledge in this field may have implications for its influence on mobilization.

THE POSITION OF HUMAN RIGHTS KNOWLEDGE

The position of the human rights knowledge is thought of here as being influenced by five elements; the degree of mobilization, the lasting impact of the human rights knowledge, whether human rights are regarded as important by the respondents, husbands' opinions and Islamic conceptions. The first two are accounted for above. The latter three are discussed here. As discussed above, a certain degree of mobilization as well as lasting impact may be identified. From the outset, this already suggests that human rights knowledge to some extent has a position in the negotiation

field.

Is human rights knowledge important?

The respondents in the quantitative study were asked this question directly. On a scale from 1 to 5, where 5 signifies ‘very important’, the average was a little more than 4. Three respondents express different views why human rights knowledge is regarded as important:

I

‘Yes, important for me as a woman. It is the foundation of my marriage. My husband was broke. I gathered money. My husband worked [...] to save money to get the driver’s license, and then to buy a car. The human rights knowledge helped me to support my husband during this period’ (interview).

II

‘Yes, it is knowledge as all other knowledge. Human rights knowledge is as important as all other knowledge’ (interview).

III

‘Yes, it may lead to important decisions, for instance how to raise the children’ (interview).

As noted above, the human rights knowledge has to some extent influenced on crucial issues (improvement of the road, health and income generating activities). There are also reasons to claim that the HRE has had lasting impact. Added to the above quotes, this may be suggested that human rights are seen as important to a certain degree in Tene Toubab. Asking the respondents directly if the knowledge is regarded as important may escape misunderstandings, but not produce trustworthy answers as they may not relate the knowledge to their reality. Although the data suggest several ways how that women link the human rights knowledge to mobilization, this link may not have been obvious at first sight. It may be the fact that when I asked questions about this link, this was the first time that women actually were confronted and suggested with such a link and that they could use this knowledge to make changes. My presence in Tene Toubab may have influenced how the respondents conceive of

human rights. Being asked about the concept may have been interpreted by some of them, that this is important in one way or another¹⁶. If women do not relate the human rights knowledge to their everyday life and practices, it may question whether the knowledge is regarded as important. Furthermore, considering the seemingly non-spread of the knowledge both to the control site as well as internally in Tene Toubab, may question whether women regard the knowledge as important or not.

Asking the respondents whether they believe that the human rights knowledge can make changes in the future, may say something about the degree human rights knowledge is seen as important for their life situation. The politically engaged woman was quite clear that the human rights knowledge definitely would contribute in the future.

‘Yes, knowing the right to do politics has lead to participation in politics which in turn has increased the pressure towards the governments in order to get electricity and water’ (interview).

Others rejected that this knowledge could make any improvements in their and the villagers’ life-situation. Several respondents expressed some kind of hope and belief for the future though, like; ‘human rights knowledge may lead to changes, if God wants’, without specifying on what areas.

Husbands' relation to human rights

As discussed above, husbands’ opinions clearly influence the choices women make. However, it is also clear that for others, they make their decisions regardless of their husbands’ opinions. Not submitting seems to be either due to acting across their husband’s opinion (‘go to court if her husband would deny her to do find a job’), or that the husband does not keep his wife from her choices (‘doing anything to make ends meet’). Based on the data material it seems difficult to go any further than arguing that husbands’ opinions do influence on women’s actions. Men’s knowledge of human rights was also questioned above. Furthermore, a statement from one of the

¹⁶ This may serve as an example of the impossibility of the neutral researcher being de-linked from the research process conducting fieldwork.

respondents quoted earlier, suggested men's ignorance towards human rights knowledge. How men relate to the knowledge was discussed with the woman that wanted to sell groundnuts (together with her husband) independently from the governments. She explains that the men knew about human rights, and that they learned this at school.

Q: 'Are the men in this village interested in human rights, do they feel that it concerns them?'

They don't care, they don't talk about it.

Q: So, the men and the women, they do not discuss the human rights?'

No, they do not discuss it.

Q: Do you think that is sad, would you have wished that you discussed this with men?'

It would have helped to discuss this with men and have a discussion.

Q: But, what do you think, do you think that human rights go for all human beings, women and men?'

It is for everybody, but especially for women.

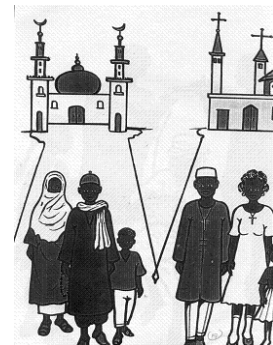
Q: Can you specify why this is especially for women?'

Because the woman is the pillar in the house, they are the ones being at home, and she is the one welcoming people that come because she is the most important, she is the foundation in the home' (interview).

Islam and Human Rights

In the in depth interviews, I asked the respondents whether they felt that there are any contradictions between human rights and Islam¹⁷. This was clearly not an easy question to answer.

Studying three internationally acknowledged Muslim scholars Svensson (2000) discusses attempts of accommodation between women's human rights and Islam. Discussing the position of one of the scholars, Riffat Hassan, Svensson notes



¹⁷ 'Human rights' and 'Islam' may have multiple meanings and interpretations expressed through different social and cultural practices. This issue will not be further explored in this thesis.

that in Islam

‘...equality between the sexes is stressed specifically in relation to the right to work. [...] Likewise, she (Hassan) explicitly states gender as a religiously non-valid ground for *social* discrimination’ (2000:77, my parenthesis).

Svensson further claims that

‘...in several contexts, Hassan singles out women as the prime targets of human rights violations in contemporary Muslim societies’ (2000:78).

The second scholar Svensson discusses is Fatima Mernissi.

‘Mernissi highlights gender specific problems in areas such as work, education and law. She also specifically addresses the issue of veiling as state policy’ (2000:117).

The third scholar discussed, An-Na’im, presents, according to Svensson

‘...gender equality as inherent in the concept of human rights. Discrimination on the basis of gender contradicts the notion of rights applicable to all human beings by virtue of their humanity’ (2000:170).

Thus, according to these statements, Islamic practices may violate women’s human rights.

Analyzing the data material, there seems to be confusion regarding the relationship between human rights and Islam in Tene Toubab. What guides women in cases of contradiction also vary. Due to the high illiteracy rate for rural women, it may however be questioned how much they (but also men) know of Islam. Limited knowledge of Islam, may enable those with more knowledge to make claims that affect people’s thinking and action in relation to Islam (interview).

On the relationship between Islam and human rights, two of the respondents explain:

I

Q: You said earlier in this interview that according to Islam, the man should support the family, and even if he cannot and does not allow you to seek a job, you have to respect that. Would you say that the rules according to Islam are more important than the human rights knowledge, what do you follow?

I know that we have the right to...I would have followed the human rights, because I was taught that if he does not agree in letting me take a job... I know that I have the right to...

Q: So, there may be a conflict between Islam and human rights on this issue?

Yes, there is a huge difference, in the way that you have the right to take your husband to court if he does not allow you to take a job. According to Islam, you have to submit to his wish and will, so there is a difference, a conflict between Islam and human rights.

Q: Has there been any difficulties in Tene Toubab because of this?

No, there are no problems, because the men here are willing to let all the women having a job, it is something they take for granted (interview, this was the politically engaged woman).



II

‘I agree that there are differences between woman and man, but it is wrong to construct artificial differences between them.

Q: Do you regard it as a problem that according to human rights, women and men are equal, whereas Islam teaches that the man is superior to the woman?

No.

Q: When you raise your kids in the future, what will you teach first; that the man is superior to the woman, or that they are equal?

Islam is the foundation of knowledge. When the kids get to maturity, I will teach them human rights. There is no conflict between the two’ (interview).

The farmer referred to earlier regarding the privatization of the groundnut sector, is also a religious leader. Being a religious guide in the Mouride brotherhood in Touba in central Senegal, the one hundred people he employs are also his disciples. The relationship between human rights and Islam were discussed with this farmer and religious leader. The discussion dealt with human rights in relation to the Koran in general, but specifically Islam in the Senegalese context.

He argues that according to Islam, the woman must obey the man. This goes both inside the household and in society in general. If she does not, she will not come to paradise. If, however, she does obey the man fully, she will get straight to paradise. This is what Islam says. No sex before marriage. Marriage is voluntary for both parts. The husband on the other hand, is obliged to help and respect his wife, support her and to be a good husband. The wife can seek employment and do what she wants to do, but it has to be by her husband's permission. Islam does not allow oppression and violence inside marriage (interview).

Regarding the equality between woman and man, he says:

'I cannot agree with the Western conception of the equality between men and women. I believe in Islam, and Islam says something else. It is not natural for me to believe in anything else then. But, Bamba¹⁸ stressed the importance of being a human being, and that human beings live different. [...] The important thing is to be a good human being no matter what you believe in. But this is inside of humanity. In the domain of faith, I believe in Islam, and cannot agree on the Western conception of men and women having the same rights. [...] It is not easy to discuss the example of the relationship between men and women, since Islam says that the man is above women, and also more perfect in divinity, but not more intelligent or by earthly measures. [...] This is inside the domain of faith. The problem is speaking inside different paradigms of belief, or whether one speaks outside a paradigm of belief' (interview).

¹⁸ Ahmadu Bamba, (1853-1927) visionary founder and prophet of the Islamic Mouride Brotherhood in Touba, Senegal.

About the relationship between women and men in Islam, another respondent gives this answer:

Q: Does Islam say that women and men are equal?

No. [...] In Islam, men are superior to women. Men inherit two-thirds from their parents, whereas women inherit one-third.

Q: And that is an Islamic rule?

Yes. [...] I think it is always the same; men are always superior to women.

Q: What did you think about this before you got the human rights knowledge?

I took it for granted. I was raised with this conception (interview).

The aim of the above quotes is to suggest different views and perspectives regarding the relationship between human rights and Islam. It is not the purpose here to discuss this issue any further. What is relevant here, is to see how the human rights knowledge may work or influence in this field.

Although the Imam in Tene Toubab announced that human rights do not contradict Islam, women still express reluctance to go by human rights. The reluctance to act according to the human rights knowledge if it contradicts with the husband's opinion or Islam may not only be an expression of unequal power relations between women and men, but also an expression of the fear of freedom. The respondents may not feel comfortable expressing this, or they may be 'incapable' of articulating it to me. In this Freirean sense, women would not know what to do if they had to make a decision of where they are going. Therefore they conform to status quo which is limiting but still a predictable and safe situation. However, the oppressed are themselves responsible to take this step, according to Freire (1995).

MAKING USE OF HUMAN RIGHTS KNOWLEDGE

One way of thinking of how women relate to the human rights knowledge, their husbands' opinions and Islamic conceptions is to argue that through the human rights knowledge women may have expanded their repertoire of perspectives and expressions and learned a human rights 'language'. This 'language' may enable women to 'name the world' and 'change it' in a new way as it may provide new terms and expressions that are better suited to denote women's reality, complementing their prior knowledge and repertoire. In a Freirean sense, women may be said to have won back their right to name the world discovering that they are creators of culture, 'providing' women with a 'map' that is perceived corresponding to how they experience the world, and thus enabling them to a greater extent to manoeuvre according to their perception and experience of their context. This may be regarded as conscientization as the women are 'equipped' to better read society critically and to take action against oppressive elements. This is what Freire (1995) advocates when stating that to name the world is to change it and in the end, to exist humanly.

How the world is actually perceived has to harmonize with how it is presented in the cultural repertoire. Lack of correspondence may alienate people, making human beings lost. If the individual does not recognize the world, it may limit its ability for manoeuvre (Freire 1974, Freire 1995). This may suggest why Senegalese wish to undertake a 'second' education with curricula of Senegalese culture and society, as the French curricula may lead to confusion for Senegalese manoeuvring in their own culture (interview). In this sense, it may be argued that the way women relate to their reality is re-articulated as they engage in an active process of articulating the human rights knowledge into their reality. This process of articulation may be thought of as having a contextual 'accent' (Volosinov 1974).

Hence, a human rights 'language' may increase women's self-esteem as they manage to articulate their reality in new ways, as well as enabling them to re-articulate reigning power relations and conceptions into a new discourse that corresponds better to their life situation. This re-articulation may in turn strengthen women's negotiation power towards their husbands' opinions and Islamic conceptions. Hence, it may be argued that women read society differently because of the human rights knowledge.

However, this reading is not a neutral reading, but contextual and is learned in a certain manner and is thus influenced by the curriculum of which it is based. The

close relationship identified in the data material between what is taught and what women express may exemplify why teaching/learning is a contextual practice, and that it may be difficult to tell the difference between ‘reading’ and ‘critical reading’ and judge between them whether one or the other is ‘better’. The nineteen flip-charts Tostan is using displayed in appendices V, may be seen in light of what is said here.

Regarding the negotiation field then, it seems reasonable to argue that the human rights knowledge does have a certain and distinct position in relation to husbands’ opinions and Islamic conceptions. This supports the findings in chapter 4 that the HRE has led to mobilization. The position of the human rights knowledge depends on the use of it. As it is argued above, women engage actively in the use of the human rights knowledge in establishing its position. Furthermore, it seems clear that despite of the influence on mobilization by other factors accounted for in chapter 5 HRE represents a significant factor of influence on mobilization. Though husbands’ opinions certainly influence on women’s actions, two issues may suggest why the human rights knowledge may ‘interfere’ on their opinions; men’s ignorance and lack of knowledge, of human rights. This may be suggested as an ‘opening’ for women to get into dialogue with their husbands enabling them to reach common ground. However, the data material does not suggest that women regard this as a strategy.

It may be argued that the three ‘conceptions’ work in a dynamic relationship with one another, not being autonomous entities. Focusing here how this field may be negotiated at the human rights knowledge ‘end’, does not imply that the other two ‘conceptions’ are not part of or being excluded from this negotiating dynamics. However, this is not dealt with here.

Human rights knowledge as a disturbing discourse?

Gregory views discourse as

‘A specific series of representations, practices and performances through which meanings are produced, connected into networks and legitimized’ (2000:180).

Suggesting a hegemonic character of husbands’ opinions and Islamic conceptions, it may be argued that, depending on how women use the human rights knowledge and ‘language’ noted above, this may influence on these hegemonies. If ‘human rights’ are articulated as commonsense reality a new hegemony may be created in a way that manages to ‘incorporate’ husbands’ opinions and Islamic conceptions into its discourse. This process may be thought of as a counter hegemonic practice. ‘Human rights’ may have a rhetorical power being accepted and established in the field of meaning production, beliefs and perspectives. It may have the potential of disturbing reigning hegemonies as something that is ‘added’ to other power-structures.

On the other hand, human rights knowledge influencing on these ‘reigning’ hegemonies does not necessarily imply that women achieve dominance towards their husbands and Islamic conceptions. This process may also be thought of as a ‘disturbing’ discourse.

Mid-term evaluation of HRE

A mid-term global evaluation of progress made towards the achievement of the objectives of the Human Rights Education Decade, was undertaken from April to August 2000 (United Nations 2002). By September 2000, the United Nations received 27 responses to the questionnaires from Africa addressed to Governments, NGO’s and other principal actors¹⁹. Of the 53 Governments to which the questionnaires were addressed, 7 responded. Other responses were received from 13 NGO’s, 3 national human rights institutes and 4 human rights and university institutes²⁰. Due to the limited number of responses to the questionnaires resulting in incompleteness of the

¹⁹ Questionnaires received by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human rights and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

²⁰ A/55/360. <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/docs/55/a55360.pdf> Downloaded January 2004.

picture, the review referred to here does not name countries and NGO's.

In Africa, both Governments and NGO's are confronted with a number of obstacles in developing and implementing HRE programs. The need for human resources (such as documentation specialists and training experts), materials (teaching, learning and training materials) and learning methodologies appropriate to HRE is emphasized in the evaluation. Furthermore, in order to ensure a long-term impact of HRE programs, long-term funding is cited as a need both by Governments and NGO's.

What is more is a few NGO's stating that illiteracy, traditional cultures and values, political instability and poverty are obstacles to work in HRE. One NGO argued that HRE would need to be linked to the basic needs of the final beneficiaries in order for them to be emancipating²¹.

CONCLUSION

First of all, mobilization has taken place in Tene Toubab as a result of the HRE. Each of the three dimensions, activity space, relations towards husbands, relatives and society, and outlook have changed to variable degrees. Thus, mobilization has to be differentiated as well as seen in relation to the context in question, when analysed. Changes that require means or other 'non-social' features seem to have had less impact than changes that do not require means being more of a social character. When discussing mobilization, as it is here, it is necessary to attempt to account for other factors that may have influenced on mobilization. Three such factors are accounted for here; the health centre, the micro credit program and a sense of an organizational change or awareness. The last section of this thesis attempted to view human rights knowledge in relationship with two other 'conceptions'; husbands' opinions and Islamic conceptions. It was argued that the human rights knowledge 'found' its way to a certain and distinct position in what is called a negotiation field between these three 'conceptions'. It was in this regard suggested how the human rights knowledge may be used to strengthen women's negotiation power towards husbands' opinions and Islamic conceptions. The final point of this argument was whether the human rights knowledge could be considered a counter hegemonic practice or as a 'disturbing' discourse.

²¹ A/55/360. <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/docs/55/a55360.pdf> Downloaded January 2004.

The Decade for Human Rights Education is in its final year, 2004. For people engaging in HRE, two points may be suggested. First, that HRE has to appreciate contextual sensitivity. Indeed, the HRE-response may differ considerably between individuals, groups of individuals and societies at different places at different times. Second, as this study may exemplify, HRE can hardly account for the vast body of international human rights documents. Thus, selections will have to be made. For those engaging in HRE, it is thus required that choices made and the purposes of the HRE are explicated, since educational practices, as it is suggested in this study, are contextually embedded.

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[Alle kilder i denne oppgaven er oppgitt.]

APPENDICES

I. Interview guide

- Q1. Have you heard of human rights?
- Q2. What do you know about human rights?
- Q3. What do you put in the word 'right'?
- Q4. From where do you have this knowledge?
- Q5. Is this knowledge new to you?
- Q6. Are you doing different activities now that you did not do before you got this knowledge?
- Q7. Is this knowledge important to you?
- Q8. If you look to the future. Do you think this knowledge will make any changes in your life-situation?
- Q9. What changes?
- Q10. Has the knowledge of human rights led to any changes in your life-situation, and what changes?
- Q11. Is there a gap between what you know of human rights and your life-situation today?

II. Questionnaire notes

The following are notes and operationalizations of questions from the quantitative inquiry. What are included here are notes being used in the analysis of the quantitative data.

Q2 Distribution and knowledge of human rights

This question produced much information. The respondents usually added more to their answer in two or three rounds by themselves without me asking. Finally, I asked if they knew anything more about human rights until they responded no. It was my impression that the respondents answered this question exhaustive.

Q3 Conceptual misunderstanding

This question was posed for the purpose of excluding conceptual misunderstandings in the beginning of the interview. However, it was necessary to pose question as number three. Asking this question first, it is likely that the respondents would have expressed their human

rights knowledge in general. As this was the purpose of question number 2, asking what they put in the word right as the following question may have increased the chances of getting the respondents to reflect on this issue more isolated. Whereas the respondents of Tene Toubab expressed the notion that as a human being you are entitled to certain rights, the respondents in the control site expressed 'right' as something 'good' or 'a good life if God wants'.

Q6 *What activities and distribution, as a result of the HRE*

One of the challenges in this question was to single out the human rights knowledge from other knowledge acquired in the Tostan program. As with Q2, I made sure to spend time on this question, as it was crucial to identify as clearly as possible the influence of the human rights knowledge.

Q7 *Relating human rights knowledge to personal opinion and life-situation*

On a scale from 1 to 5, where 5 signifies 'very important', the average was a little more than 4. On the follow up question, why human rights knowledge is important, the respondents referred to what was said earlier in the interview. The number was set by me based on my interpretation of their answers. (The respondents were not asked to choose number).

Here, I used the following phrase: *If you regard your whole life-situation, what you want to achieve in life, your family and your community, and what you regard as important?* It was necessary here to get an impression whether the human rights knowledge was regarded as important or not, without reducing the alternatives to either a simple 'yes' or 'no'.

This question was posed after Q6 for three reasons: Just having mentioned the activities, may enable the respondents to think of this clearly in relation to the degree they regard human rights knowledge as important. Secondly, it cannot be taken for granted that the respondents consider the human rights knowledge as linked to everyday practices. Thus, Q6 and Q7 may enable the respondents to do so indirectly reducing my influence on their reflection and answers. Thirdly, due to the emotive, positive charge I felt was expressed by women in Keur Demba Ngoye (pilot project), I wanted to limit the influence of hope and aspiration, since this section regarded changes that had occurred in the past.

Q8/Q9/Q10 *Actual changes vs. hope/aspiration*

The attempt here was to make a distinction between future and past in order to isolate hope/aspiration on the one hand (Q8/Q9) and present day, actual changes on the other (Q10). The issue of motivation was investigated through the qualitative study. A 'yes' on Q8/Q9 may be based on hope and belief that the future will bring better times ('if God wants' which was frequently expressed here).

Q11 *Relating human rights knowledge to life-situation*

The purpose of this question was again (from another angle) to see how the respondents related the human rights knowledge to their life-situation. Not enjoying the human rights expressed earlier in the interview, and at the same time saying that there is no gap, may say something about this issue. This question produced two 'categories' of answers. First, the respondents answered the question directly. The follow up question was then if there was a gap in relation to the rights expressed in Q2, and in relation to the answers from Q6 and Q11. In some instances the answer was switched answering the follow up question. Some answered 'no, I have achieved all the rights I know' the first time and changed this to 'yes, there is a gap according to those rights', and vice versa. It may be that the respondents interpreted this

question as ‘are you content?’ In discussions with people in Dakar I learned that dignity is the last thing people with scarce means lose. People may have been reluctant to say that ‘things are not ok, I am not content’. Switching the answer from ‘no’ to ‘yes’ does not automatically imply that they regard or relate to this ‘gap’ (which is a constructed term from the interview guide) as something they attempt to close. In some instances, switching answer seemed apparently unproblematic. This ‘easy’ switch may suggest that these respondents have not quite applied the human rights knowledge to their reality, regarding reluctance of expressing discontent.

III. Notes regarding the qualitative interviews

Four issues were discussed in the qualitative interviews. These issues were partly tendencies in the data-material and partly issues I regarded as relevant and important to examine.

- The groundnut situation.
- Islam and the relation between Islam and human rights in the village.
- Organization in Tene Toubab.
- Politics.

IV. List of interviewees (non-respondents)

Interview with educational consultant Yaya Ndiaye at A.J.E.D. (Association Des Jeunes Pour L’éducation et le Développement. NGO.

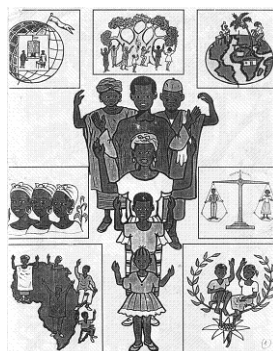
Interview with member of women council, Thiès.

Discussion with Ibou Diallo, Professor of history.

Interview with Dame Fall, farmer and religious guide.

Dame Fall employs 100 people at his farm in Touba, the home town of Ahmadu Bamba, visionary founder and prophet of the Mouride Brotherhood in Touba. Dame Fall is the grandson of one of the most extraordinary disciples of Bamba, Mbaye Fall, who did not manage to read the Koran or pray, but expressed his faith through hard work. Two discussions regarding the relationship between human rights and Islam and the groundnut situation were undertaken. These discussions lasted from one to three hours. Dame Fall is educated as an engineer and in Koranic studies. The discussions were characterized by mutual interest of each others views, and a calm atmosphere.

V. The flip charts used by Tostan in the HRE



1



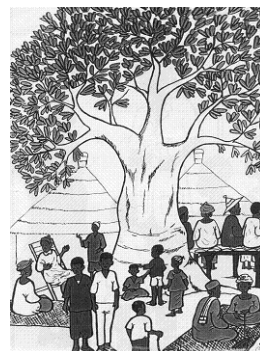
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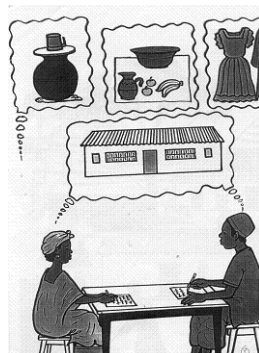
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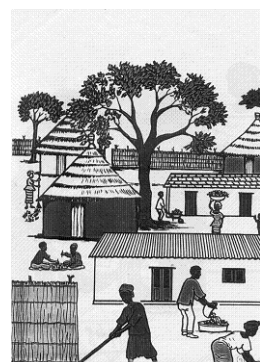
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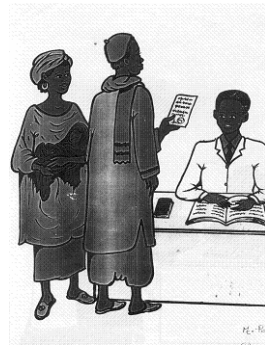
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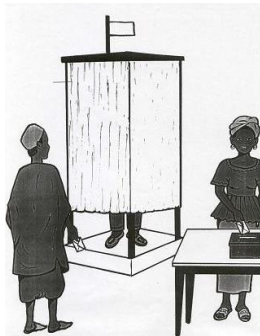
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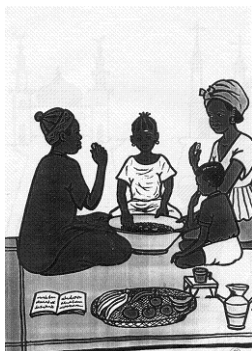
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1. Cover, signifying different human rights conventions.
2. The right to life.
3. Prohibition of all forms of violence.
4. Prohibition against all forms of discrimination.
5. The right to peace.
6. The right to health.
7. The right to education.
8. The right to plan life.
9. The right to a clean environment.
10. The right to work.
11. The right to register your child at birth.
12. The right to marriage.
13. The right to organize.
14. The right to vote.
15. The right to equality before the law.
16. The right to credit to do farming.
17. The right to new technology.
18. The right to healthy nutrition
19. The right to religion.
20. The right to have your own culture.

Note: These are just thematically denoted not with the full text as it is written in international human rights documents. The reason for this is that I do not have full records of the presentation of the different flip-charts as it is conducted by Tostan, and because the presentation of each right is done through discussion and dialogue in the classes.

VI. The villages of Tene Toubab, Keur Diadie and Ndiop

Tene Toubab

Population ²² :	1287
Distance to nearest bigger city, Mbour:	11 km This is a soft dirt road direct from Tene Toubab, not easy accessible by car. The better road via Nguekhokh is also an option to get to Mbour. It is 6,5 km to Nguekhokh, and then 11 km to Mbour from here. Population Mbour is about 20 000.
Distance to nearest bigger city, Nguekhokh:	6.5 km
Population Nguekhokh:	3529
Economic basis:	Agriculture (groundnut, millet, some fruit), trade at the markets
Religion:	Islam
Ethnic groups:	Wolof and Serer. Two thirds of the inhabitants are Wolof . These groups live in separate parts of the village.

Keur Diadie

Population ²³ :	276
Distance to nearest bigger city:	Keur Diadie is 2 km south of Tene Toubab, This is a soft dirt road direct not easy accessible by car.
Economic basis	Some millet production
Religion:	Islam
Ethnic group:	Wolof

Ndiop:

Population ²⁴ :	1420
Distance to nearest bigger city:	Ndiop is another 2 km south of Keur Diadie. This is a soft dirt road direct not easy accessible by car.
Economic basis	Agriculture (groundnut, some millet production), trade at the markets
Religion:	Islam
Ethnic group:	Wolof

²² Census 2001. Figures from Centre de Suivi Ecologique.

²³ Census 2001. Figures from Centre de Suivi Ecologique.

²⁴ Census 2001. Figures from Centre de Suivi Ecologique.